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THE PROGRESSIVE

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Office memo

HERE IN THE United States, there are thousands of high school and college students who use *The Progressive* regularly in connection with their classroom work in the social sciences. Overseas, we have known of many individual students who subscribed to *The Progressive* both through personal interest and to help them in their studies. But only now have we received word that a whole group of foreign students is using *The Progressive* regularly in its course work.

Haruhiro Fukui, of the Graduate Department of American Studies, Tokyo University, has written us a long, friendly letter on behalf of ten students in a seminar who have been reading *The Progressive* for the past several months. Here are a few excerpts from his letter:

"It is not an exaggeration at all," said Mr. Fukui, "to say that *The Progressive* is the one publication that has made us all aware, more than anything else, of what intellectual efforts are being made in America to correct past and present errors and misjudgments in various Washington policies.

"Information relating to current affairs of the United States available to the Japanese public at large is limited, and it is almost impossible to get a fully documented picture. . . . Under such circumstances *The Progressive* is naturally most valuable and encouraging. . . . Limited treatment of internal problems might be more or less satisfactory to an average Japanese reader, but to us in American studies much more detail is indispensable. . . .

"Our desire to get as rounded a picture as possible of the events and the people that make today's America, including the views of these people who do not always agree with certain Washington policies, has been fulfilled by *The Progressive*. . . . It is of great help and inspiration to all my colleagues and myself."

We receive a steady flow of reports from abroad of how much *The Progressive* means to friends—particularly students and professors—in 107 foreign lands, and also how difficult it is for them to subscribe for themselves. Next month we are announcing a plan which will make it possible for interested subscribers to help solve this problem and receive a modest reward for their concern.

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Our most popular current reprint is Senator Stephen Young's "Civil Defense: Billion Dollar Boondoggle," now in its second printing. A close runner-up is Robert Satter's "How to Pass Your Law," a clear, concise guide for citizens interested in pushing legislation, particularly in their home states. With state legislatures in full swing, the reprint is being bought and distributed in varying quantities by labor unions, women's clubs, credit unions, church groups, and all types of committees working to pass specific laws.

Copies of these reprints are available at ten cents each, three for twenty-five cents, twenty for $1, or 100 for $5, postpaid, from The Progressive, Madison, Wisconsin.

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The

FOUNDED IN 1909 BY ROBERT M. LaFOLLETTE, Sr.

MARCH, 1961

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PROGRESSIVE

"YE SHALL KNOW THE TRUTH AND THE TRUTH SHALL MAKE YOU FREE"

The Country Is Ready

IN THIS SPACE, last month, we attempted a tentative assessment of the beginnings of the Kennedy Administration. It turned out to be much more of an on-the-one-hand-and-on-the-other editorial than we had intended. Our enthusiasm was greater than that. And it has grown. We know how I. F. Stone, the crusading Washington commentator, must have felt when he wrote in his *Weekly* that his enthusiasm was a bit embarrassing, that it was much like the prophet Jeremiah being caught giving three lusty cheers. For our part, we intend to maintain a critical vigilance, but there is no doubt that our chronic crankiness of the past decade is melting rapidly in the glow of the fine words and good deeds of President Kennedy and his associates.

We like the style and poise and freshness with which the new President approaches Congress and the country. We admire the sharpness of his mind, the range of his interests, the clarity of his speech, and, most of all, his awareness of the nation's needs and his commitment to affirmative action. And we are pleased, too, to see the English language restored to official use.

We were especially impressed by the swiftness and decisiveness with which President Kennedy moved to proclaim civilian supremacy in the formulation of American foreign policy. That was the clear-cut purpose of the White House decision to crack down on the warlike utterances planned by Admiral Arleigh E. Burke, chief of Naval Operations. The Admiral proposed to deliver an address in which he would personally take a stand for severing diplomatic relations with the Russians, as he has so many times before. His theme was reported to be the total futility of negotiations with the Soviets.

The White House firmly put a stop to this dangerous nonsense, serving notice that the United States has a unified foreign policy and will no longer tolerate the confusion of counsel that prevailed for so long under Mr. Kennedy's predecessor. Curiously, in acting as it did, the Kennedy Administration showed that it was mindful of the warning uttered by former President Eisenhower in what was certainly one of his finest hours, his farewell address to the nation. Mr. Eisenhower rose above partisan issues and personal considerations, to speak up, as a lifelong military man, against the perils of permitting the military to dominate the civil power of the country.

Two Republican bitter-enders, Senators Styles Bridges of New Hampshire and Barry Goldwater of Arizona, raised feeble protests against President Kennedy's "gag rule," but most of the rest of the nation rejoiced in the President's resolute insistence that the military brass must not be permitted, through oratorical broadsides against countries with which we are negotiating, to imperil the President's pursuit of peace.

Mauldin in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Killjoy

As he went about the task of completing his official family, President Kennedy made appointment after appointment that stirred new hope in the hearts of American progressives. Such an appointment, for example, was that of Edward R. Murrow to serve as director of the United States Information Administration. Murrow, a distinguished newscaster and analyst who won his liberal spurs in a courageous struggle against McCarthyism, gave up a post that paid more than $200,000 a year to serve his country at less than one-tenth that amount. His opening statement—"Whatever is done will have to stand on a rugged basis of truth"—carried the authentic Murrow ring.

The team that Mr. Kennedy put together in the critical field of foreign economic aid is superb. George Ball, Undersecretary of State for Economic Affairs, is a seasoned international lawyer and close friend of Adlai Stevenson. Henry Labouisse, director of the International Cooperation Administration, is one of the outstanding career civil servants of our time. Frank Coffin, chosen to head the Development Loan Fund, was one of the rising stars in the House of Representatives until he left that body to wage a hopeless fight for governor of Maine.

Other appointments that struck our fancy were those of Frank McCulloch, longtime able assistant to Senator Paul H. Douglas, to serve as chairman of the National Labor Relations Board; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Harvard historian, to a special post in the White House; Norman Clapp, once secretary to the late Robert M. LaFollette, Jr., to head the Rural Electrification Administration; Professor William L. Cary of the Colum-

Justus in The Minneapolis Star

bia University Law School, to head the Securities and Exchange Commission; and Joseph C. Swidler, whose long experience as general counsel of the Tennessee Valley Authority makes him eminently qualified to head the scandal-ridden Federal Power Commission.

In the significant area of ambassadorial appointments the President seems to have chosen wisely, for the most part, although there are several selections of doubtful wisdom. Gone seems to be the old practice of appointing campaign contributors with no special knowledge of the country to which they are accredited and no real competence in the fields of diplomacy and foreign affairs.

Mr. Kennedy's best selections in this field, in our judgment, were those of George Kennan, ambassador to Yugoslavia; David Bruce, ambassador to London; Llewellyn Thompson, to remain as ambassador to the Soviet Union; Livingston T. Merchant, ambassador to Canada; Edwin Reischauer, Harvard's Far Eastern expert, ambassador to Japan; Ellsworth Bunker, now ambassador in India, to serve in Brazil; Kenneth Galbraith, the gifted Harvard economist, ambassador to India; and Charles F. Bohlen, once our brilliant ambassador to the Soviet Union, to act as principal adviser on Soviet affairs in the State Department.

All in all, President Kennedy has shown an extraordinary capacity to attract some of the nation's ablest men to government posts by somehow making a career of public service exciting and alluring to men who had far greater security and earned much more money in the positions they are leaving behind.

The Chief Executive has been endlessly active on the legislative front as well. He has fired message after message at Congress proposing action on a wide variety of fronts. But before launching his barrage he acted to secure his left flank by employing the powers of the Presidency to persuade a reluctant House of Representatives to enlarge the membership of its Rules Committee so that the Committee could not continue to exercise a strangling control over liberal legislation.

The President's State of the Union address to Congress was a welcome contrast to the lullabies presented by his predecessor. "We take office," he said, "in the wake of seven months of recession, three and a half years of slack, seven years of diminished economic growth, and nine years of falling farm prices." Mr. Kennedy not only called a recession a recession, but enumerated its profoundly disturbing manifestations: growing, and in many cases chronic, unemployment; an increasing tide of bankruptcies; a declining growth rate, already one of the lowest among the industrialized nations of the world; falling business profits and investment; declining construction—and despite all this, rising prices.

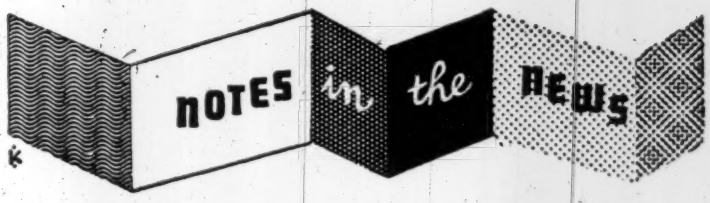
It seemed to us, and we were by no means alone in this, that the Chief Executive's prognosis was stronger than his prescription. In fact, there was an audible sigh of relief in conservative circles that the President has been so cautious in proposing action to meet the urgent challenge he presented so boldly. Thus, *The Wall Street Journal* was pleased that the economic proposals were "rather modest." The New York *Times* liked the "cautious approach." And Representative Charles A. Halleck, arch-Tory leader of Republican forces in the House of Representatives, seemed almost to express political disappointment at the softness of the Kennedy approach when he said: "We find no great quarrel with them [the President's anti-recession proposals] but we do not find them earth-shaking."

This curious note seems to run through most of Mr. Kennedy's speeches since he became President—a bold statement of the problem followed by a somewhat less forthright approach to the solution. We doubt this is evidence of weakness or vacillation, but rather of a shrewd, perhaps too shrewd, political strategy to gain immediately minimal ground from those who are relieved to find they are not called upon to surrender altogether. Roscoe Drummond phrased this point well when he wrote for the New York *Herald Tribune* that the President fully believes that much more needs to be asked of Congress and the country but feels he does not yet possess the political prestige and the national influence to ask for more at this time.

If President Kennedy did not detail a wide-ranging blueprint for action and spell out the sacrifices that such a program will demand from the affluent of our society, he succeeded in striking a refreshing note of realism in contrast to the eight years of complacency and paternal reassurances that went before. His solemn pledge to do everything that needs to be done to revive and expand our faltering economy represents a watershed in recent American political and economic history. He has laid the groundwork. He must now prove himself a master of timing. For the country is ready—ready to follow him in a bold program of social and economic action designed to banish recession and put America on the high road to the goal of equality of opportunity for all.

Herblock in The Washington Post

"Pardner, This Country Isn't Big Enough for Both of Us"



Memo to the President

President Kennedy has shown a heartening willingness to appoint, or reappoint, some of the ablest men who served under his predecessor—Charles E. Bohlen, C. Douglas Dillon, and Llewellyn Thompson are three notable examples. We know *The Progressive* is read in the White House, and we direct this plea to the President and his associates: find a significant post, if possible, for James J. Wadsworth, who served with great distinction for many months as our chief delegate to the Geneva talks with the Soviets on the banning of nuclear tests and thereafter as our ambassador to the United Nations.

As we observed here last month, Wadsworth is a conservative Republican with unassailable anti-Communist credentials who has had unparalleled opportunities to observe the Soviets at close range. This is why he carries so much weight when he says, as he did in a farewell press conference: "The Soviet government has every intention of living up to any agreement it may make from the standpoint of nuclear tests or on broader disarmament issues." This testimony is all the more impressive when one realizes that he was our principal negotiator through 240 meetings with the Soviets.

In words that seemed to indicate that he had encountered about as much resistance and frustration from Washington as from Moscow, Wadsworth said: "We [the United States and the Soviet Union] have been talking at cross purposes. We have been, perhaps, not listening to each other as much as we might."

As he walked out of the United Nations building for the last time as our ambassador, "Jerry" Wadsworth said: "I would not have traded these last eight years for anything else that I could possibly imagine, even though some of the moments have been frustrating and others downright enraging." Surely Wadsworth's eight years of invaluable experience should be placed at the service of the Kennedy Administration.

A Whale of a Difference

Eight years ago, when President Eisenhower's ambassador to the United Nations, Henry Cabot Lodge, went to the Security Council to present his credentials, he refused to shake hands with the late Andrei Y. Vishinsky, the Soviet delegate.

"Don't you know there has been a change of Administration in Washington?" Lodge snapped at Vishinsky as he turned his back on the Soviet spokesman.

What a whale of a difference eight years and a change of Administration make! Recently, when President Kennedy's ambassador to the United Nations turned up to present his credentials to the Security Council, he sought out the Soviet ambassador, Valerian A. Zorin, for a warm handshake. Adlai Stevenson had made the start his friends had expected of him.

Mauldin in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"May I Turn These In for a Briefcase?"

Peace among the nations of the world, he said, in his opening remarks, "begins with peace among the members of this Council."

Stevenson faces a Herculean challenge—one greater than that faced by any American statesman except perhaps President Kennedy—to achieve the near-miracle of reviving and restoring the machinery of the United Nations, now, in the words of Eric Sevareid, "sputtering closer to complete paralysis than at any time in fifteen years."

Whipsawed by the antagonists in the cold war, the United Nations urgently needs the helping and moderating hand of an Adlai Stevenson. There is hope, as Sevareid said, because Stevenson can "bespeak the America that thoughtful men everywhere want to hear once more, the American accents not heard at the United Nations" for a long time—"our fundamental peaceableness, our straightforwardness, our creative sympathy for the dispossessed of this world."

We share Sevareid's conclusion that if Stevenson can't do it, no American can. Stevenson *can* do it, if he is given his chance by the White House, as we feel confident he will.

'New Frontiers' in Civil Rights

The timing could not have been better. Just when President John F. Kennedy let it be known that he was willing to let the Senate work on his economic, social, and foreign programs in exchange for leaving civil rights problems to his own devices, the Southern Regional Council came out with a handbook of executive procedure. The recommendations of the Council's thoughtful report, entitled "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights," are based on the advice and consultation of more than forty experts in the civil rights field, in addition to the contributions of the Council's gifted and experienced staff. Publication coincided almost precisely with Senator Hubert Humphrey's statement that President Kennedy planned to pursue civil rights by way of executive decree, presumably rather than risk the failure of progress in the incinerator of the Senate's Southern-commanded committees.

As impressive as anything in the Council's report is its evaluation, in

a brief foreword, of the President's potential influence in the field of civil rights:

> "Presidential authority greatly exceeds constitutional or legal definition; much of it springs from the high personal regard and even affection in which the Chief Executive is held. Therefore, a President of robust conviction will lose no occasion, however trivial, to show by purely personal action his admiration of principles of equality. Such demonstration may be worth fully as much as executive orders and formal pronouncements."

The term "robust" obviously has a two-way thrust—a regret and a hope. The hope, for all to see, lies in President Kennedy. The program of the Southern Regional Council, designed for executive action, involves no fewer than eighteen major actions that the President might pursue without the necessity of prying further civil rights legislation out of a recalcitrant Congress.

The Council's demonstration of the wide range of initiative the President has in the civil rights field is impressive, especially when contrasted with the few acts or statements attempted by his predecessor:

¶ Appointment of an adviser on race relations, with a staff to review compliance with government policies of non-discrimination.

¶ A constant review of Federal employment on racial grounds, and the appointment of Negroes to high level administrative posts, both here and abroad.

¶ An affirmation of the 1954 Supreme Court decision, accompanied by the President's statement of intention to use his Presidential power to enforce desegregation in public schools.

¶ Enforcement of laws enabling Negroes to vote.

¶ Elimination of segregation in the National Guard, and equal opportunities for advancement in the armed services for non-whites.

¶ A declaration of policy of non-discrimination in any housing in which the Federal government has an interest.

President Kennedy seems to be rising to the challenge. In a recent press conference he quietly yet firmly pledged to use the "moral authority" and "influence" of the Presidency where court desegregation orders are being defied and sabotaged.

Under the Rug

The direct assaults of the Southern Regional Council's incisive and pertinent report reverberate against the rigid walls of segregation in the South. Yet the undertones echo with persistent force against racial discrimination north of the Mason-Dixon line. John A. Hannah, chairman of the President's United States Civil Rights Commission, said at hearings in Detroit recently that he is "convinced the most difficult civil rights problem is in the larger cities of the North." He is convinced of this, "because Northern cities sweep [the problem] under the rug and run—to the suburbs."

One of the more glaring examples of sweeping the problem "under the rug" turned up recently in, of all places, New Rochelle, New York. It seems that New Rochelle had, many years ago, established, and subsequently sustained, a school—ironically named after Abraham Lincoln—which somehow has always managed to contain within its district boundaries all, or nearly all, of the Negro students in the community—while freely transferring to other schools white children whose homes were within range of Lincoln.

In a decision resulting from a suit brought by the parents of eleven Negro students, Federal Judge Irving R. Kaufman made it known to the residents of this New York suburb that the 1954 Supreme Court ruling applied to children and schools in the entire United States, including New Rochelle as well as the South. In the first Federal court order of its kind handed down in the North, Judge Kaufman ordered New Rochelle school authorities to present a desegregation plan by April, and to desegregate its schools at the opening of the fall term. The suburb is appealing the decision.

Silk Stocking Integration

One of the bitterest battles over school integration was fought—in this Centennial Year of the Civil War—not in the South, but in an upper class residential area in the heart of New York City. The issue was compliance with a standard Board of Education directive which re-drew the boundaries of an existing school district upon completion of a new school in the neighborhood. The new divisions, which mixed the all-white district with an adjoining heavily Negro and Puerto Rican district, roused many an unhappy white parent to revolt. Some reacted by such childish measures as falsely changing their address in an attempt to avert the transfer.

Others, including some who had expressed concern about the language problem involved in sending their children to a public school which included many Spanish-speaking Puerto Rican children, enrolled their children in French-speaking and other foreign language schools. A bitter campaign, reminiscent of some in the South, was waged throughout the neighborhood of largely wealthy, well-educated residents. Petitions were circulated, boycotts were threatened, long-time friendships were ruptured, and the entire silk-stocking district was engulfed in a fog of emotion.

But the New York Board of Education, which has done a creditable job of integrating its schools in the face of great resistance, stuck to its guns. The schools were integrated, most parents who had withdrawn their children returned them, and almost everyone who had opposed integration found his fears were groundless.

Look magazine, which reported the affair in a brief gem of an article, concluded that "segregationist feeling is still very much alive in this area, although many of the people do not express it openly. If they did, it would somehow mar their self-image as well-informed, intellectual people."

A Punctured Myth

One of the most cherished myths in the folklore of capitalism, and the one most ardently reiterated by American big business, is what its prophet, the National Association of Manufacturers, has termed the "rigorous competitiveness" of the free enterprise system. But the myth was rudely punctured and the hypocrisy of the NAM glaringly exposed by the recent conviction of twenty-nine companies in the electrical equipment field, along with scores of their executives,

of wholesale criminal violations of the Sherman anti-trust act. The Justice Department presented an airtight case that, far from maintaining "rigorous competitiveness" among themselves for the billions of dollars of business involved, the electrical companies had conspired to create a tightly-knit, nationwide control over prices and allocation of sales. "Competitive" bids were all pre-arranged, and deliberately rigged to provide an excessive profit margin.

Ironically, it was the Tennessee Valley Authority, which has so often been accused by these same electric corporations as being a threat to free enterprise, that initiated the action which ultimately opened the gates to the prosecution, and perhaps, as an aftermath, to at least a semblance of freedom in this segment of the economy. As we reported in these columns in November, 1959, it was a TVA protest against scores of identical bids, often on million dollar items, that led Senator Estes Kefauver's anti-trust subcommittee to launch an investigation which terminated in the successful criminal prosecution by the Justice Department.

But while the corporations talk piously about the role they play in keeping the economy "free," and spend millions of advertising dollars honoring the spirit of competition, *The Wall Street Journal* reports a widespread philosophy among these same corporate executives "that collusive activity was ethical, illegal though it might be." A stunning example of this economic and moral confusion is the statement of F. F. Loock, president of Allen-Bradley Company, who pleaded guilty to the charges:

"No one," said Loock, "attending the gatherings was so stupid he didn't know [the meetings] were in violation of the law. *But it is the only way a business can be run. It is free enterprise.*" (Our emphasis.)

Sanctimonious Fraud

If this Alice in Wonderland concept of "free" enterprise prevails widely—as we fear it does, judging from the Kefauver subcommittee's investigations of administered prices in other industries, such as automobiles, steel, and drugs—then the business world is indeed in a state of advanced moral decay. And the consumer and taxpayer are as badly off as they were in the days of the Nineteenth Century robber barons, when W. H. Vanderbilt said, with more candor than the latter-day barons, "The public be damned."

Not all businessmen uphold the notion of an economy grounded on free enterprise. The general counsel of the United States Steel Corporation, testifying before the Kefauver subcommittee a few years ago, stated frankly that it was his estimate that all but twelve per cent of the economy was "administered," rather than in free competition, and that most of that twelve per cent was the stock market and farm products.

It is against this background that Senator Kefauver and others have suggested public representation in, and more direct regulation of, administered industries. Perhaps capitalism has evolved beyond the "free" enterprise stage. If so, let us face the fact, and change our laws and our mores to accommodate this new development. But in any case, we can no longer tolerate the sanctimonious fraud of "free" enterprise that business and its spokesmen are still trying to perpetrate upon an awakening public.

The Not-So-Republican Farmer

One of the most broadly-accepted myths germinated by the outcome of the last election is that the farm vote

26 Members of the House Join Kastenmeier In Sponsoring Peace Agency Bill

"Mr. Speaker:

"In the last few days twenty-six members of this House, from both parties, have joined me in introducing a newly written bill to create a National Peace Agency.

"That bill would mobilize the creative power of American ideas to solve the great problems of disarmament and of reducing international tensions. It would involve physical and social scientists, teachers, public officials, and private citizens in an attempt to bring imagination and thought to bear on the problems of achieving peace. These problems are many and complex. For instance, can we work out a way to detect tests of chemical and bacteriological weapons? We do not know. What kinds of rearrangement of our national economy would we undertake, if the armaments burden upon our budget were to be reduced? We do not know. Are there any new ideas for reducing the tensions that plague our international life? We do not know.

"We could try to answer these questions if an independent agency to explore new approaches to peace were to be created. Such an agency could also train the experts whom we will need to man the inspection posts in any international disarmament agreement. Such an agency is necessary to discover the hard facts upon which our State Department can build sensible policy in negotiating with other nations.

"For these reasons, twenty-six Members have joined in introducing Peace Agency bills identical to HR 3186. Those members are the gentlemen from Wisconsin (Kastenmeier and Johnson), California (Clem Miller and Roosevelt), Maryland (Friedel), Connecticut (Kowalski), Minnesota (Blatnik and Karth), New York (Pike, Ryan, Cellar, Multer, and Halpern), Alaska (Rivers), Missouri (Moulder), Pennsylvania (Rhodes, Nix, and Toll), Ohio (Ashley), Massachusetts (Donohue and Lane), Illinois (O'Hara and Shipley). Montana (Olsen), New Jersey (Rodino) and West Virginia (Staggers and Zelenko).

"We hope to discuss before the House, during the next few weeks, the provisions of our bill."

—Robert W. Kastenmeier
Wisconsin Democrat

went to Republican candidate Richard M. Nixon, thereby affirming farmers' approval of the Eisenhower Administration's farm policies.

Drew Pearson reported that even John Kennedy, wryly sizing up the election returns, remarked that it seemed the farmers would like to have Ezra Taft Benson reappointed Secretary of Agriculture for another four years. Harry Truman fired a characteristic broadside at the "damn farmers" while the ballots were still being counted. Democratic leaders generally were acutely disappointed in the apparent ineffectiveness of "the farm issue."

The American Farm Bureau Federation, chief organizational backer of Benson's farm policies, was quick to turn this public reaction to its own ends. Farm Bureau President Charles Shuman declared: "This election should end for all time the fiction that farmers want more government regulation and price determination in their business. The policies of the Farm Bureau have been effectively vindicated as accurately reflecting the thinking of farm people."

But the National Farmers Union, arch-rival of the Farm Bureau and staunch supporter of the Democratic farm plank and Kennedy's campaign stand, looked beneath the surface impressions of the election outcome, and claimed to find evidence of strong farmer support for Kennedy. Farmers Union President James Patton, in a letter to Kennedy after the election, detailed "some tabulations of voting figures that disclose the tremendous impact you have made in winning farm votes away from the Republican candidate. These figures indicate that you and your farm policy have increased the Democratic proportion of the total vote of 1952 by an average of thirty per cent in heartland Farmers Union states."

Most of the misunderstanding of the farm vote is based on the simple, large-scale fact that Nixon carried such Midwestern "farm states" as Wisconsin, Iowa, and Indiana, the entire Great Plains except Texas, and almost all the Rocky Mountain and Pacific states.

Yet an accurate measurement of the real "farm vote," as Patton's analysis indicated, can be made only by examining returns in the precincts where farmers live, rather than generalizing from aggregate returns from "rural counties," which usually include more village and city residents than actual farmers.

When looked at in this light, Patton's contention holds up quite well throughout the farm belt: Kennedy gained over Stevenson's 1952 vote, or held more of it, in actual "farm" precincts than in the neighboring villages and small cities in rural counties. An unpublicized post-election survey by Kennedy headquarters revealed about a ten per cent lead for Kennedy in "farm" precincts over his vote in the "village" and "city" and "rural non-farm" precincts in the same counties.

Peace and Religion

Even an accurate reading of the election returns, however, does not furnish a fully dependable referendum on any single issue. Democrats would have enjoyed an agrarian landslide if the "farm policy" issue had been dominant among farm voters in Iowa and Wisconsin. However, both the "peace" and "religion" issues tended to offset the Democrats' strength with farmers on strictly farm policy issues.

In Wisconsin, more than one-third of farmers scored the Republicans as better qualified than the Democrats to head off war, a score twice as high as the Democrats' sixteen to seventeen per cent. However undeserved it might be, this acceptance of the G.O.P. as the guardian of "peace" is one of the major and most persistent factors in its ability to retain a hold on farm voters in the face of an overwhelming conviction that the Democrats are "better for farmers" economically. Polls on pocketbook issues rate the Democrats over the Republicans by a four to one margin.

Above all, however, the religious issue, more than any other single factor, took away from Kennedy votes he might have won on other issues. In Wisconsin, Catholics who voted Democratic for governor in 1958 were ninety per cent for Kennedy in 1960, whereas Protestants who voted Democratic in 1958 were only sixty-six per cent for Kennedy in 1960.

An exception which proved all the rules was Minnesota—one of the few "farm states" which Kennedy carried. Overwhelmingly Protestant, and solidly rooted in the traditions and nationality origins of "isolationism," Minnesota Democrats pulled their voters—and particularly their farm voters—into the Kennedy camp against all the drag of the tidal issues running for the Republican Party in the remainder of the farm belt.

Minnesotá farmers kept the farm policy issue in realistic perspective. The Minnesota Farmers Union, an effective grass-roots organization backed up by a complex of grain marketing and farm supply purchasing cooperatives, mobilized experienced and responsive local leaders in every precinct to mount a drive to "make-every-farm-vote-count." A survey by the Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association showed that eighty-two per cent of the eligible farm vote actually voted—sixteen per cent more than in 1956, and the biggest proportion in Minnesota's history.

Democratic farm leaders drummed hard on the "farm issue" in Minnesota. At the same time, the "religion" issue was met head-on down to the precinct level; Lutheran Farmers Union leaders, themselves morally reinforced by state Democratic leaders, sternly lectured their hard-up Protestant neighbors against giving in to the temptation to vote anti-Catholic and thus give Benson farm policies a boost in the process. The Lutheran clergy, almost solidly Republican, openly exhorted Lutheran congregations to vote against Kennedy, but in Minnesota the Democratic parishioners for the most part ignored the pastors' political advice. In contrast, in similar Wisconsin and Iowa communities which do not have the efficient Minnesota political organization and esprit de corps, Democratic Lutheran farmers—and particularly their wives—swung to Nixon away from pro-Democratic voting trends of the "Benson years."

This all adds up to the conclusion that on economic issues alone, farmers were overwhelmingly opposed to the Republican Party and Ezra Taft Benson's disastrous policies. And even though many farm votes were diverted from Kennedy by the peace and religion isue, the Democrats still won a majority of the farm vote. It was the non-farm rural vote that threw so many of the "farm states" into the Nixon column.

THE FOUND GENERATION

by MILTON MAYER

"We have also seen a sharpening and refinement of abusive power. The legislative investigation, designed and often exercised for the achievement of high ends, has too frequently been used by the Nation and the States as a means for effecting the disgrace and degradation of private persons. Unscrupulous demagogues have used the power to investigate as tyrants of an earlier day used the bill of attainer."

—SENATOR JOHN F. KENNEDY, 1960.

LAST May 14 a spectacular news photograph was published all over the world; in America because it was spectacular, in the rest of the world because it indicated that the American university student was at last becoming a political animal. It was the panoramic photograph of the demonstrators against the House Un-American Activities Committee being washed out of the San Francisco City Hall by fire hoses in the hands of policemen wearing black jackets and helmets.

The picture was a natural triumph of composition. Looking up from the first floor of the great rotunda, it centered on the flight of thirty-six broad marble steps with soaking young men and women in various stages of their removal, sitting, falling, bumping their way down, and being dragged or carried. The white background lent itself especially well to detail, and many newspapers used it as a full-page shot. One of the papers was *Izvestia*.

But *Izvestia* used part of the page for auxiliary news photographs from Seoul and Ankara, showing policemen beating university students. (Tokyo was still to come, and you wouldn't expect *Izvestia* to dig up old pictures of policemen beating students in Budapest). There was no missing the point anywhere in the world outside the United States: the American student, who used to swallow goldfish and nowadays drives a sports car, was being washed into the historic channel of student revolt. The San Francisco police and press said, "MOB RIOTS AT RED HEARING," and my household psychiatrist said this:

"Don't think about the students. They are young and healthy. They will survive the bumps and the beating and the jail. Instead, think about the two policemen who had heart attacks beating them. *That* is the true sign of the times.

"Age," my psychiatrist went on, "can not stop youth from doing anything good or bad; not when youth has become infatuated, as these students are with justice. They are revolting against their elders who, like former Senator Kennedy, deplored the misery of our culture without being able to do anything about it even though they held the highest positions; without, indeed, even being able to vote against Senator McCarthy and J. Edgar Hoover.

"And their elders can only beat them—with police clubs and misrepresentations and editorial cries for more police clubs. But the use of all these weapons brings on heart attacks because the elders know that their authority is gone, and they therefore go wild and exert more violence than their elderly condition permits them to."

I said, "You don't say," and my psychiatrist went on: "The father beating his wayward son and then dropping dead from the exertion is the picture you must see. The son's waywardness—his going his own way, for good or evil—is what the father can not bear. He goes crazy and in the end destroys himself, and the son picks himself up from the ground and goes his wayward way. That is what is beginning to happen in America. In the Old World, wherever the fathers try to force more war and poverty on them, the beaten sons get up from the ground and beat their fathers. Here we are fortunate that it takes a less terrible form. The sons still have confidence that they can get their way by rejection without revolution."

"So," my psychiatrist went on, "you need not worry about what the old Congressmen and the old editors and the old policemen and the old Legionnaires are doing to the students. What they do doesn't matter. What they say doesn't matter. Even if they turned to fascism, they would have to have the leadership of youth. They are finished. They still hold power by virtue of the forms of power, which they can use to kill a Chessman but not a generation."

"You see," my psychiatrist went on, "this is an epidemic movement which has spread to America. It is the movement of youth. We elders are the last generation here which can exist out of the world. In trying to hold off our own young people, we are trying to hold off the world. We want it as it was. They reject it as it is, and us as its symbol. And don't think for a minute that you are leading the students because you are on their side; you are simply trying to hold on to your own youth;

they will go their way with or without you."

I said, "You don't say," and my psychiatrist concluded: "You will have to excuse me for not having used any two-dollar-and-a-half words in explaining this to you, but you aren't paying for them, and what you don't pay for you don't get. The wisdom I give away free."

J. Edgar Hoover and the Un-American Activities Committee affect to believe that the students are dupes of the Communists, "totally unaware," says Mr. Hoover, in *Communist Target—Youth*, "of the extent to which they can be victimized and exploited." The San Francisco judge who dismissed the riot charges against them said that they were "for the most part clean-cut American college students who will within the next few years enter into the business and professional worlds, and many of them, I am sure, will become leaders in their respective fields."

Totally unaware dupes who are now graduate students and teaching assistants in great universities will become leaders in America. At the awful prospect the dupes grinned in the dock. The judge did not ask that the Communists who duped them be produced. Mr. Hoover and the Committee and the police did not ask for the Communists who duped them. No Communist, known or unknown, was arrested.

Why not? There *were* Communists involved, two old San Francisco wild men, Archie Brown and Merle Brodsky, and the narrator of the Committee's film of the event, *Operation Abolition*, says, "Archie Brown, second in command in the California Communist Party . . ." and there is Archie on the screen. But Archie and Merle were there because they were subpoenaed by the Committee after the students had run an advertisement saying, "Where are the Communists?" It used to be that the Commies kissed themselves in on these demonstrations; now the Congressmen provide them. Neither Brown nor Brodsky—nor any other Communist — had anything to do with the affair.

Nor did Harry Bridges. According to the narrator of *Operation Abolition*, "Among the Communist leaders who had an active part in the San Francisco demonstrations was Harry Bridges, who you see here being escorted out of City Hall by police officials moments before the rioting broke out." According to Mr. Hoover's *Communist Target—Youth*, "Order had been restored [after the "riot"] when Harry Bridges, president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, suddenly appeared on the scene." "Both of these versions," says Aristotle, thumbing through the Law of Contradiction, "may be false. One must be."

Law and Order, with its clubs, its hoses, and its 130,000,000 unduplicated sets of fingerprints, could not find a Communist to arrest. It couldn't even look for a Communist to arrest because it would have found three hundred University of California faculty members who attacked the Committee just before the San Francisco hearings, and one hundred sixty-five faculty members of San Francisco State, and the Episcopal Diocese of California (and the Friends Committee on Legislation), and the California AFL-CIO, and the New York *Times* and the New York *Herald-Tribune* and the Milwaukee *Journal* and the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* and the Des Moines *Register and Tribune* (and *The Progressive*), and the American Federation of Teachers, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and the Young Democratic Clubs of America (and Young Democrat John F. Kennedy).

These are the villains. These are the answers to the *Saturday Evening Post's* agonized question, "How could American boys and girls be stampeded into this shameful performance?" *These are the Communists Mr. Hoover and the Committee can't look for lest they find them.* Was there a riot, as Mr. Hoover and the Committee say there was? Were the clean-cut totally unaware dupes incited to riot, as Mr. Hoover and the Committee say they were? Then who committed the felony of incitement to riot? And who incited *them?*

What incited the students was their exclusion from a public hearing. What they did—and shouldn't have done—when they were incited was sing and chant in the echoing rotunda of a public building. ("There was no act of physical aggression on the part of the students," said Sheriff Matthew Carberry of the City and County of San Francisco on a TV interview two months later.) The police, incited by the Committee, responded in the only way policemen know how to respond to non-violent resistance. It was all unfortunate; deplorable; but, as John Locke was saying, happening along with Aristotle at his side: "Whensoever, therefore, the legislative shall either by ambition, fear, folly, or corruption, endeavor to grasp themselves, or put into the hands of any other, an absolute power over the lives, liberties, and estates of the people, by this breach of trust they forfeit the power the people had put into their hands;" at which point, "cry up their governors as much as you will for sons of Jupiter, let them be sacred or divine, descended or authorized from Heaven, give them out for whom or what you please—the same will happen."

The movement at Berkeley and on campuses across the country was and is its own leadership. The lunch counter sit-in movement in the South was and is its own leadership. Revolt against really unbearable conditions, under capitalism, under Communism, under anything else, is its own leadership, and the elderly persons and organizations who may think they incite it are the counterpart of the man who ran through the streets of Paris during the Commune saying, "Which way did the mob go? —I am its leader." Those of us arthritic professors and preachers who support the young in revolt are trying to hang on to our youth or recover it. All that we can incite is ourselves.

The spectacular photograph taken in the San Francisco City Hall last May 13 was the hardest thing that has hit Mr. Hoover and the Committee in their whole joint career. It hit them all over the world and wouldn't stop hitting them. They could lose McCarthy and survive, and; as long as they survived, McCarthy, though he was beaten and gone, was still winning. But that one picture—there were others, of girls beaten bloody, of four policemen attacking one student—put their backs to the

wall. Its deadly message was inescapable: the American student is rejecting his old folks and the forms which alone maintain their clutch on the world as it was.

The counter-offensive opened with Mr. Hoover's special report, *Communist Target—Youth* (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington). The old men who [illegible] the worst of the country's new magazines said, in publishing it: "The moral drawn by the FBI: Students, a prime target of Communists, have helped topple governments around the world. Communists are going all out to ready U. S. for a similar fate." But the governments the students have been toppling around the world were rotten governments. They are toppling rottenness in the American South. If there is something really rotten in the American government, a fundamentally good, free government, they will topple it unless the American government can be made rotten first; and short of war it can't be. War—the milk of old men—is the last best hope of restoring the world as it was.

Mr. Hoover's report was a white-collar *Operation Abolition*. He was sent first to the barricades after San Francisco because he is still thought to be sacrosanct even among the professors and preachers who attack the Committee. ("The FBI can take care of subversion; we don't need the Un-American Activities Committee.") And in years past he has marshaled his myths in measured fashion. But now, with that deadly photograph in front of him, he picked up McCarthy's brass knucks and came wading in with the old knee. (The Student Civil Liberties Union, P.O. Box 1021, Berkeley, will send you its analysis of *Communist Target—Youth*.)

What I liked best in the Hoover report was this minor libel: "Arrangements were made to have the demonstrators join a *party-sponsored* [italics mine] 'Peace March' on Saturday, May 14, at the conclusion of the hearings." The reason I liked it is that, at my advanced age I was one of the dupes in the "Peace March." The Walk—"March" was Mr. Hoover's emendation—was sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee, the Unitarian Fellowship, the Women's International League

Herblock in The Washington Post

Cutting-Room Floor

for Peace and Freedom, and the World Affairs Committee of the International, Interracial Commission of American Baptists, *and by no other persons or organizations.*

The Hoover report was not an unqualified success; maybe just because Mr. Hoover has been around too long. That deadly newspaper picture remained intact, and may itself have suggested that what was needed was a *picture*. The Committee obtained all the television film of the "riot" by subpoena. Four to six hours of footage was reduced to forty-five minutes and doctored throughout to bring separate incidents together, reverse the sequences, and eliminate altogether the students' story and the police assault. A Committee narrator took the place of the original recorded sound track (which would have given the lie both to the finished film and the narration).

The film, *Operation Abolition*, carries no credit lines of any kind; nobody made it or produced it or copyrighted it. It will take a pending lawsuit to determine how the Congressional power of subpoena can be used to produce a commercial article: Washington Video Productions, 1637 Wisconsin Avenue, N. W., Washington, has sold more than five hundred prints (and are behind in their orders) at $100 each. (Standard Oil of California bought ten copies.) Profit to somebody: $40 to $60 per print. (The TV stations have never been paid for the use of the subpoenaed film.) The film has been shown, under Legion, military, church, and Congressmen's sponsorship, all over the country, in high school and college assemblies, Army and Navy posts, and even, the Washington *Post* discovered, in government bureaus.

The national election was coming on. Local Republican candidates furnished the film for use in their campaigns, sometimes dubbing themselves in for an introduction. In California the Democrats ducked for cover, refusing to appear on panels discussing the film. Even after the election Democratic office-holders went on ducking and refused to help the students schedule the film with a panel of participants in the "riot" to show how a Congressional fact-finding committee falsified the facts of the demonstration from start to finish.

But though the film was used effectively to run up tension, especially in small towns, it, like Mr. Hoover's report, was not an unqualified success; just the reverse. It moved the leaders of the student movement — who might otherwise have gone back to their books — to throw themselves full force into the nationwide crusade against the Committee. (Their analysis of the film can be obtained from the Bay Area Student Committee for the Abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, 1732 Francisco Street, Berkeley 3, California.)

Anti-intellectualism was what the Founding Fathers were most afraid of when they debated the merits of democratic government. In San Francisco the trigger of the student—and faculty—protest was the Committee's frontal atack on the teaching profession. In 1959 it subpeonaed 110 California teachers and leaked their names to the press. In the ensuing howl the hearings were canceled before they began, but teachers were fired anyway. Last year the papers refused to print the names of those subpoenaed, but many teachers were known to have been called.

Former Governor Goodie Knight of California, showing *Operation Abolition* on his Los Angeles TV

show, said: ". . .But we will not be cowed by mobs and we will not be misled by stupid propaganda and the screams of young men and women who have been misled, first by their professors and, second, and let me say while I'm on the subject that it wasn't only the University of California, it was my own alma mater, Stanford University, and San Jose State and San Francisco State, where members of the faculty disgraced themselves by inciting the very thing you saw on the screen tonight."

Goodie Knight, who has gone from the governorship of a state to a local TV show, has nothing to lose by opening the Hoover-Committee bag all the way to the bottom. The enemy is the teaching profession, disgraceful professors. The enemy is, in a word, the mind of man. As long as it is free Mr. Hoover and the Committee will not sleep of nights because they dare not. They can produce reports and films of student riots incited by Communists who are not arrested for incitement to riot; for the rest, they, unlike Goodie Knight, have to leave it to the inferential powers of the American people.

Not one of the teachers called to the stand in San Francisco would testify. In invoking the First or Fifth Amendment in the State of California, they put themselves in certain jeopardy; the State Education Code permits, and in practice compels, school boards to discharge teachers who refuse to cooperate with legislative committees. The three San Francisco witnesses who were willing to testify are all well-known members of the Committee's road show, and one deserves special mention.

This is Irving Fishman, Deputy Collector of Customs at the Port of New York. Irving is carted about from hearing to hearing — this is where the Committee's $327,000 appropriation goes — with his sealed and re-sealed sack of incoming foreign mail. Pressed by Committee counsel, he breaks the seal on the bag and pulls out the Communist propaganda and says: "No effort is spared to flood Communist propaganda to perhaps every college, university, and secondary school in the United States." Each time he does it, the New York *Herald Tribune* reports, "the Committee members act out their part in the talking charade just as if they hadn't already seen, heard, and done the same thing repeatedly."

"Who's your friend?" I said to Aristotle and Locke, as they happened by. I thought I'd drop through the floor when they introduced him as Thomas Jefferson. "And what do *you* think of it all?" I said to Jefferson, and Jefferson, who still talks as if it were the year 1804, said: "No experiment can be more interesting than that we are now trying, and which we trust will end in establishing the fact that man may be governed by reason and truth." The experiment could not be more interesting than it is right now.

Just as the struggle for civil rights in the South is passing to the young from the palsied hands of their gradualist elders, so the struggle for civil liberty in the country as a whole is passing. The generation of lawsuits lost or won by five-to-four decisions is on its way out. We know that the FBI will not be restrained by the old men in Congress. We know that the Un-American Activities Committee will not be abolished by the old men in Congress. There will be fighting minorities of us codgers; but there is beginning (just beginning, to be sure) to rise on the campuses a generation of young men and women who will not accept the inch-at-a-time — forward or backward — respectability that offers them good jobs, a lifetime of futile letters to their Congressmen, and a constitutionality under which the HUAC is constitutional.

There were a good five thousand of them—not counting Archie Brown and Merle Brodsky—picketing the City Hall the day after the "riot" in San Francisco. There were two thousand at Berkeley alone who signed the petition against the Committee in the space of a few days before the hearings began. If the country survives the attack of Messrs. Hoover, Fishman, Brown, and Brodsky for another decade, and the Russians bypass us for the moon, these students will be doing something somewhere in America. They are, by and large, the best students on these campuses. The future is (as F.D.R. would say) iffy. But there may be a found generation.

Medical Care Becomes A Right

by Edward T. Chase

NOT ALL important public events are detected by the press even when it is on the scene. Nor can all important events even when observed be accommodated within the peculiar stylistic conventions of press reporting—for example, such requirements as a legitimate news peg, a catchy lead, explicit, easily identified substantiating authority, whether by person or by documents. This is not all too bad because it establishes the need for periodicals of comment and interpretation like *The Progressive*.

A case in point is a remarkable development that took place during Dwight D. Eisenhower's next-to-last week in office: The White House Conference on the Aging. Yes, another one of those vast, pompous, earnest symposia. Though a most elaborate press apparatus was set up to report this affair, outside of Washington the coverage was negligible. What is more, no story, even in the capital, showed appreciation for what really happened—most likely, in all fairness to the press and its stylistic conventions, because nothing "official" did happen. That is, Congress did not

pass a law, a high court did not announce a decision, nor did the President issue an order.

But something "unofficial" happened, nevertheless, that amounts to a sanction almost, if not quite, comparable to such "official" acts. In retrospect, at least, it will be seen to be of great consequence to the American people. First, a most important roadblock was removed in the effort to perfect the American "welfare state." More significantly, a long stride was taken in establishing the acceptance of what can best be described as a new basic social right. And this is, or certainly should be, news—important news. *It is the concept that medical care now is a right, like the classic triad of food, clothing, and shelter—plus, in modern times, a free education.* It is a right, which is to say that it is not to be compromised by personal economic adversity; not limited by one's ability to pay. This is more than domestic news. It can affect our stature with the peoples of the whole world.

It has taken a long time and some doing to get to this point. It has required an unconscionable amount of time even for the principle of Federal involvement to be accepted by both major political parties. This occurred last year when both parties, in their campaign platforms, supported Federal financial aid to medical care for the aged. It has required a national spectacle of several millions of citizens—the elderly lacking the income for decent medical care—undergoing severe and needless privation, to elicit the interest of the rest of us. Finally, it has required the exasperating procedure of re-arguing at a White House conference the whole case for social security that was fought out a quarter of a century ago. This had to be done to defeat the opposition and convince the ignorant. The opposition is the lobby known as the American Medical Association, "just another mean trust," as Harry Truman has put it, plus its cohorts in the insurance business and in anti-social security business circles in general.

To a truly surprising degree, all this was brought off at Mr. Eisenhower's last White House meeting, an ironic development, of course, since it is in dead conflict with his known beliefs. For two years, remember, organized medicine had suggested that we take it easy on all this nonsense about Federal financing of minimal medical care for the aged at least *until* the Conference on the Aging. With the vast amount of preparation at the state level, literally thousands of pre-Conference conferences, the White House affair was bound to be an important landmark. Don't rush these radical moves, we were cautioned. Let's let the conferees take a look at the facts, especially if we can put off the public's taking a look at them; meantime, all legislation must be suppressed in Congress. This is, of course, exactly what happened in 1960. Well, perforce we did wait. However, when the conference finally came off, the AMA was not able to stack it as it wished and its effort backfired, loudly.

The backfire was this: the AMA's favored expedient, the theory of medical care for the aged offered through the state public assistance programs on a means-test basis, was discredited throughout the Conference by reasoned, factual presentations. Conversely, the case for ministering to the health needs of the elderly retired through the principle of payroll taxes, contributed throughout one's working life for dispersal via the social security mechanism when needed—this principle was supported relentlessly, repetitiously, and irrefutably. Not one of the 2,700 delegates to the Conference could miss the point nor miss noting the decisiveness of the vote for the social security approach. Nor was the picture of the doctor delegates—confused, defensive, and incoherent—a healthy omen for the AMA of its own effectiveness in the battles still to come. For there will be a battle—and soon. But for the first time, the odds now run strongly that the social security principle will prevail in this 1961 Congressional session. This will have happened in no small degree because the results of this long-awaited Conference cannot be used to strengthen the hands of the opposition in the upcoming Congressional debate, but instead will exert the heaviest pressure for affirmative action on the social security approach.

EDWARD T. CHASE recently attended the White House Conference on Aging. He has written on social and economic themes for a number of publications, including Harper's, The Reporter, The Commonweal, and Commentary.

Doctors are fond of pointing out that theirs is not a monolithic profession with a single view. This is true, in a broad sense. A vast number, possibly even the majority of doctors, are bored with or hostile to the AMA. More particularly, they are conscious of the self-seeking character of the county medical societies, which carry on the brunt of medicine's organizational activity. Also, there is a great variation in social sophistication between, on the one hand, research doctors and teachers at the universities and those with salaried governmental jobs or with large pre-payment medical plans practicing on a group basis, and on the other hand the solo practitioners who consciously view themselves as conducting a small private business for profit, whether they be famous surgeons on Park Avenue or general practitioners in suburb or small town.

The former category is hostile or indifferent to the medical societies; the latter category usually looks up to the societies and in fact constitutes their backbone. It is a fact, too, that nearly all active practitioners are quick to point out—and rightly so—the good work of the AMA and its constituent societies in disciplining the profession, in setting standards, and in conducting an essential educational program in medical matters through its literature and meetings.

It is in the political arena that the the profession is altogether monolithic. The position of the AMA on legislative matters affecting the profession is the position of the profession. It is a position easy to predict, slow to change, formidably pressed by the drum-beaters of each local society as well as by the AMA, and it is one that is almost never challenged, at least audibly, by the doctors in the ranks. Practitioners learn early in the game that a small private business that depends on referrals and on organizational status within

the profession's institutions, especially the hospital, does not encourage political idiosyncrasy. Nor would it be naturally forthcoming in many doctors anyhow. Most are totally absorbed in their demanding professional work. They work extremely hard, read little, and must conserve their reading time for medical material. They are accustomed to being asked for their opinions and are under no compulsion to weigh the merits of these opinions in open discussion with the public, which in their view is a largely undifferentiated laity, certainly with no competence in medical matters, and hence presumably with no right to meddle in matters that could affect medical practice, however tenuously.

This is a necessary prelude to understanding why the profession is silent in the face of their political brass's suicidal support for the position represented by the Kerr-Mills law, the measure passed in the rump session of the 1960 Congress. It provides for the Federal government to bolster existing state public assistance (relief) programs for the aged on a stepped-up matching grant basis so as to accommodate medical needs. The AMA supports this measure, claiming it does the real job properly: that is, it copes with the proven needy by a means test; it is largely local rather than Federal since each state determines its need and participates to the degree it sees fit; each state is allowed to set its own range of benefits and to determine by its own criteria who should be eligible. On the whole, the law keeps the Federal government quite out of the picture, except for the financing.

Anyone with the slightest knowledge of the matter appreciates that the overriding motivation of the AMA in supporting the Kerr-Mills legislation is that it is the most minimal of the various bills considered, the least the AMA could get away with without having to adopt the politically inexpedient posture of being publicly against any government assistance. The trouble, it has turned out, is that the act is so minimal in its effectiveness it is setting up the AMA for the knockout blow: the states, almost without exception, have spurned the program because they cannot or will not put up the necessary matching money. Now the AMA is pushing state adoption of Kerr-Mills desperately, aware that the measure's dramatic failure is vividly underscoring the need and arousing even further the public demand for action through social security.

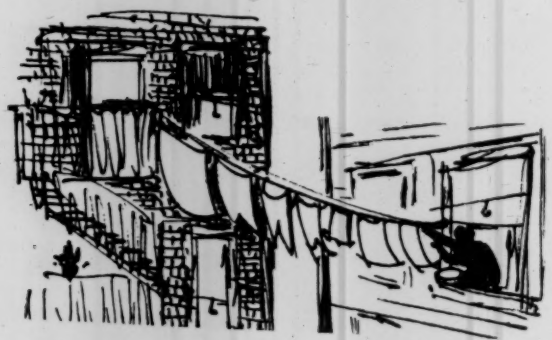
It is worthwhile to restate the social security position because the election campaign debates on the issue distorted it, and because we are going to be confronted with a rousing revival of the whole fight before President Kennedy has been in office six months. It remains a key controversy in mid-century America. The argument runs like this:

In an industrial civilization, the worker has only his labor to sell; he is sustained by wages. In consequence, loss of wage is the critical factor. It is the main point of reference for social legislation. Thus the first great system of health insurance to develop in this country, workmen's compensation, is tied to the wage-loss-restoration principle. Disability from industrial injury or illness is to be compensated for at a level to keep the beneficiary from pauper status, yet not so prosperous as to encourage malingering. Since applied science has so enormously increased productivity, the need for labor has diminished, with the consequence that most people over sixty-five no longer have a place in the labor force.

The social security program has been responsive to this situation but is limited. If it is sensible for retirement owing to age to be cushioned by pension payments, then, when age also creates the problem for these retirees of above average incidence of illness and steep medical costs, social security could, and should, function to meet this problem, too. Hospital costs (the biggest factor) and medical costs should be provided for under the social security system for the same purpose as the original measure—that is, to keep the recipients off the public assistance rolls. The principle here is not a justification for general national health insurance, as medical leaders have implied so often. It is simply the principle that when income is stopped by retirement or disability, provision of medical benefits is to be provided precisely as in workmen's compensation. This merely recognizes that an urban, industrial society is a wage-based society.

There are other equally basic principles to be noted. The social security system is a contributory one, that is, a tax on pay rolls—the worker and his employer paying in the active, independent years for the benefits to be dispersed in the period of retirement and dependency. Since it is a contributory system, it follows that benefits are conceived as a matter of right, not qualified by way of a means test. There has been long-standing and universal (except within organized medicine) agreement that a contributory system is socially healthier than a relief (public assistance) program.

Furthermore, the social security system is a Federal, not a private or a state, insurance system because of overriding practical advantages. The magnitude of the risk is beyond the scope of private insurance, which could not conceivably acquire the reserves needed for the whole nation's future social security liability. As for the states, they cannot efficiently or equitably administer coverage of individuals for their entire lifetimes in all the various state jurisdictions and



even in foreign countries. An important point is implicit here, one which was made tellingly at the White House Conference on the Aging by Republican egghead Arthur Larson, Eisenhower's former speechwriter. Larson put it this way:

"No American freedom is more typical than the freedom to move and change jobs at will. The non-vested pension (and most private pensions are still of the non-vested type) increasingly chains the worker to the particular employer as the years go by—chains him with the golden chains of non-transferable pension credits, but chains him all the same. The Federal social security credit by contrast is transferable from job to job, state to state, industry to industry, leaving the worker complete flexibility to come and go and choose jobs without worrying about effects on his social security rights.

"The same test of freedom creates a crushing presumption favoring social security over public assistance wherever the substitution can be made. Public assistance not only impedes freedom of movement, since assistance may not be available for extended periods in a new state. It also impedes many of the other typical freedoms. Sometimes it interferes with the freedom to keep your intimate financial affairs to yourself. In subtle ways, it may injure freedom to spend money as you choose. Does a relief recipient dare to be seen picking up a six-pack of beer in the supermarket, or driving a 1931 Chevrolet? May not some taxpayer see him and grumble, 'Look at him riding around like a king on my money'?"

Other practical administrative arguments for social security are equally impressive and were advanced cogently by several speakers at the White House Conference. For one thing, the system is uncomplicated. No means test is involved, which is to say the discretionary element is reduced to a minimum—simply whether or not you are sixty-five—and hence does not involve human judgments, some subjective and delicate, on a mass of personal data. This allows simple central administration and the efficiency possible when both the collecting and the disbursing of funds are handled under one roof. Indeed, one of the persuasive arguments for the social security solution to the medical problem of the aged is that there is an efficient, going apparatus already at hand, one in which the administrative expense has been considerably below original estimates—now only about two per cent of benefits paid out, an admirable ratio by insurance company standards. All this is in flagrant contrast to the AMA-backed Kerr-Mills approach (also the Javits approach) of a state-by-state system, whereby the country would wait (indefinitely, as the evidence now emerges) for each state to pass, set up, and finance its own particular plan.

It is small wonder that the White House conferees came away with a renewed appreciation for the social security system and puzzlement over the AMA line. The old AMA saw about the "compulsory" nature of the Forand bill and McNamara bill was also dealt with harshly when it was pointed out repeatedly that *all* tax-funded measures are compulsory, the mandatory feature being a characteristic of tax laws. No one was frightened that the economy or the Federal budget would be adversely affected by spreading the cost for medical assistance for the aged over the entire wage-earning population. Finally, no one seriously disputed the hard core of facts which are at the heart of this whole great fight: that four-fifths of the 15.8 million people sixty-five years and over have annual incomes under $2,000, that three-fifths have under $1,000, yet the aged have double or triple the average national incidence of illness and only half of them have any degree of health insurance at all.

There are many other details that could be reported from the Conference—such oddities as the fact that the AMA, in plugging for the Kerr-Mills measure, is backing a law that, among a number of other violations of hitherto sacrosanct AMA principles, does not stipulate the very arch principle the organization always harps on—freedom of choice of doctor—though the Forand and McNamara bills do provide for just that. But it is more interesting to reflect upon the longer-range implications of organized medicine's performance.

Historically, AMA's contribution to medical education has been admirable. However, in the more complicated world of the present, its position has been indefensible in this particular area. In the face of a clear-cut crisis in the supply of physicians, with the ratio of doctors to population dropping steadily, the AMA has stuck to an impossible position. Federal aid for student tuitions and for teachers as well as for bricks and mortar is imperative because there is demonstrably no other way to finance them. Every knowledgeable doctor will concede this in private. But not the official leadership. Its performance here is precisely as in the matter of aid for the aged. Horror at the prospect of Federal involvement obscures all reasonable argument.

What role will such a leadership play in guiding us to deal with the large and subtle problems of an increasingly complex society?

What we must hope for is positive counsel of the highest order from the medical profession, not the anti-social nonsense that has characterized its recent efforts to maintain its economic privileges. This wise counsel will be forthcoming when medicine appreciates once again that it is a profession, not a business. The curious fact is that medicine, of all enterprises, has been elected to demonstrate how a business activity—for that is the medical profession's present character—can adjust to a changing America that will not much longer tolerate partisan advantage at the public's expense: the public's needs are going to be served and no business organization, no matter how powerful, is going to thwart this objective indefinitely.

The President in Person

by Mary McGrory

THE NEW President of the United States is a man who wastes nothing—time, money, or emotion. Everything in his life for the past four years has been bent to the pursuit of the high office to which he was sworn January 20. It was a maximum effort which had a Yankee frugality at the core. A more thrifty and self-possessed young man never reached such heights.

That is not to say that he is a taciturn man in the style of Calvin Coolidge, another New Englander. He is, in fact, quite talkative on occasion. He is ready to pause and marvel at all manner of things: the speed of a jet plane, a well-played football game, a political coup, or the proficiency in foreign languages of his beautiful wife, Jacqueline. But in attaining his ends, he husbanded his resources. He wasted few words and no soft soap.

In the primaries his addresses were models of economy, if not oratory. He let it go with a few remarks about the institution of the Presidency, a spate of statistics and a quote or two from the classics. In the backroom afterwards, with the recalcitrant political leaders, the conversation was equally terse. "We have this many guns; what do you have?" was about the size of it. He resented having to campaign in the primaries against Hubert Humphrey, whom he did not consider a serious contender. The main bout, against Vice President Nixon, he found rewarding. He began to relax and expand and to exhibit the Ernest Hemingway quality of grace under pressure. His manner is remarkably devoid of unction. Of all the candidates in the field he made the most modest and realistic claims. It was realism, not humility.

His political sense is half-instinctive and half-intellectual. Politics is in his blood. Both Irish Catholic immigrant grandfathers came up through the wards. He enjoys hearing the political lore of his native Boston, where politics is played with all the gentility of professional football. But the Mother Machree strain which lurks in most Boston Irish politicians was entirely left out of his makeup. He consults the professional oracles of his trade, and he can rattle off percentages like the pollsters he hired in depth.

The new President can be impatient with people. But he is, perhaps thanks to a profound acquaintance with history, patient with events. He was rarely heard to rail against a candidate's fate during the back-breaking days when he ate on the run and slept on the plane whenever he could. When things went wrong, his staff heard about it, in Anglo-Saxon terms worthy of a longshoreman. Nevertheless, he inspires in them an almost feudal loyalty. They admire his intellectual capacity, his eagerness to learn, and certain thoroughbred qualities they never tire of detailing. They have never seen him panic. They have never seen him sulk. When his wrath is spent, it is as though it never happened. Five minutes later he will chat equably on another matter.

"We would go down the drain with him gladly," says Kenneth O'Donnell, a campaign aide now with him in the White House.

"You would do things for Jack you wouldn't do for your own mother," says David E. Powers, his favorite campaign handler. This gentle baseball statistician, the first time he saw the new President, in 1946, declared, "everything about him was class."

The Kennedy magic, insofar as this commodity lends itself to analysis, rests in his ability to involve people in his problems. Although he must be recorded by all outward signs as the man who has everything, he still makes people want to help him.

He is one of the handsomest men in American political life; he was born rich, and he has been lucky. He has conquered serious illness. He is as graceful as a greyhound, and can be as beguiling as a sunny day. He wears imported suits and shoes. Someone always carries his bags and gets his airline tickets for him. Except for his years in the Navy, he has led what might be called a charmed life. His wife is dazzling; he has two children.

But something in his appearance suggests to the suggestible that he is lost, stolen, or strayed—a prince in exile, perhaps, or a very wealthy orphan. Whatever it is, it is pure gold. It was evident from the earliest days. Representative Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., who now holds the Kennedy Congress seat, remembers back to 1946, when the slender young Navy veteran was tentatively making his bid for a seat in the House of Representatives to the accompaniment of jeers from Boston pols. O'Neill, then a state legislator, was making his usual rounds among the Irish in the North Cambridge tenements and receiving his usual cordial welcome. He remembers that many conversations ended this way:

"Ah, Tip," the lady of the house would say, "of course, you're not running against that Kennedy boy."

O'Neill reassured them he was not.

"Thanks be to God," the answer came back. "For I could not vote against that nice boy."

While the Kennedy appeal to women was epic, the menfolk did not resent him, either for that or his other advantages. They liked his directness and his war record and the fight he

MARY McGRORY, herself a New Englander and former Boston newspaperwoman, has long known the Kennedy family. She covered the national conventions last year and traveled widely with Senator Kennedy during the Presidential campaign in behalf of the Washington Star. The article above is adapted from the original which appeared in the New York Post.

showed in the TV debates. Kennedy never talked about his effect on people in the mass; he was more than willing to demonstrate it to dubious politicos. After a while he began to enjoy it.

He has always enjoyed individuals. The bursting Kennedy household always entertained troops of friends. He is hospitable to a wide variety of people. The other day his brother-in-law, actor Peter Lawford, and George Kennan, the expert on Russia, were seatmates on his plane, the Caroline. One day he entertained at lunch Walt Rostow, the MIT economist and a considerable intellectual, and the genial politician Governor Edmund Brown of California.

His manner is casual to the point of negligence. Callers sometimes confer with him over the roar of the showers he is always taking. Sometimes they find him in stocking feet or his nightshirt. When people have told him all he wants to know, he generates an aura of dismissal. Sometimes he just walks away with a vague farewell. If the vistor is a bore, he begins to mumble and his sentences trail off and he makes frustrated gestures. His interest turns off like an electric light.

Lately he has been training himself in solicitude. He has gone out of his way to make his staff happy; he called up all the rejected candidates for high government posts and expressed his regrets. His greatest loyalties are to his family and to Harvard University. He is extremely matter-of-fact, however, and quite undemonstrative. The only sentiment anyone saw him display in public was when, after his razor-thin victory over Vice President Nixon, he went to the armory to claim his prize. He had tears in his eyes.

He does not care for effusive people. Extremists of any kind get on his nerves. At one point he told an interviewer that he was "uncomfortable" with liberals. But he has learned to live with them. One of his closest associates these days is Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., the liberal Harvard historian. Mr. and Mrs. Schlesinger were his first post-victory guests at Hyannis Port.

Once during his early days in the House of Representatives, he diverted reporters, after dismissing a band of earnest reformers, by saying: "Those goofs are really obnoxious." Going on to display that collectedness which is his hallmark, he immediately added: "For the record, we're doing everything we can."

The kind of people he likes best are old friends. His roommate at Choate, LeMoyne Billings, was present in Hyannis Port with the family on election day. He is always at home to Representative Torbert Macdonald, who was his roommate at Harvard. His closest friend in the Senate is George Smathers of Florida, a friend from House days. Another is Charles Spalding, a New York banker. He relaxes with these people. He likes reporters, having been one himself, briefly. The godmother of his son and namesake is Martha Bartlett, wife of Charles Bartlett of the Chattanooga *Times*. The Bartletts introduced the new President to his wife. He likes his neighbor, Benjamin C. Bradlee of *Newsweek*.

His closest professional associate is Theodore C. Sorenson, a brainy, 32-year-old Nebraskan who is somewhat baffled by the ins and outs of Boston politics, but never misses a beat when the new President is operating in the world of information and ideas. Another indispensable in the Kennedy entourage is his factotum from Boston, "Muggsy" O'Leary, who, like his boss only pronounces the letter "r" in words where it does not occur, like "Afric-er."

The new President's idea of relaxation is a good movie. He dislikes anything of a socially significant nature, prefers a good comedy. He is a voracious reader. For recreation he likes mysteries, favoring Ian Fleming. But he is on a steady diet of chewy fare, political biographies, histories and, at the moment, task force reports. Words interest him greatly. He collaborated with the poet Robert Frost on the revision of a line in "The Gift Outright," the poem Frost read at the inauguration. He is an enthusiastic participator in sports. He swims, sails, and golfs. He likes to drive, and a recent sight in Florida was the windblown, sunburnt President-elect at the wheel pulling up at the airport with a triumphant grin while Secret Service men sat sheepishly in the back.

One thing his staff hopes will be effected now that he is in the White House is the imposition of a daily routine. He has hardly spent two consecutive days alike since 1956, when he began his perpetual-motion drive to the Presidency. As far as they can make out, he would, if settled down, get up about eight o'clock. He is not an early riser, but knows he must be up and doing and the hour is a compromise. His breakfast is unvarying: one glass of orange juice, two four-minute eggs, toast and jam and coffee with a little cream. Lunch is a broiled lamb chop and a baked potato and vegetable, preferably mashed asparagus or some bland offering. He likes dessert, has a small boy's preference for rich chocolate concoctions or, failing that, a pudding. He now takes a drink of scotch occasionally and has recently discovered the daiquiri. He smokes a cigar now and then. Once in a while at a party he will fumble with a cigaret.

On the few occasions when he has stayed in Washington for any time, he has done his correspondence in the morning. He always answers difficult letters first. He paces while dictating. He is happiest in the afternoon between 4:30 and 6. This is when he tries to schedule his most important callers, does his best work, is his most congenial. He likes his daughter Caroline, three, to wait up for him. He goes to bed around 11:30 p.m.

Although his progress appears helter-skelter, he can keep details in mind. At the eye of a self-generated hurricane, he knows where he is going. The only thing the new President is prodigal of is gesture. He is constantly in action. When he talks he pumps his right hand up and down. Or he fingers his tie. When he is brooding over something or giving expression to a complex thought, he wanders around a room picking up objects, putting them down—perhaps he will stop to remark on them.

Those who know him best say he will not be a reposeful President. He regards the office as a challenge, and a challenge is what he likes best in the world. He sought it for that rather than for the power involved.

Someone once asked him in the early, seemingly futile days why, carrying the burden of his youth and his religion, he was running. "I looked around at the others," he said calmly, "and I said to myself, 'Why not me?' "

A Sprig of Laurel for Hugo Black at 75

from FRED RODELL

It is risky to say of a man who is still so vibrantly alive that he is destined for immortality. Yet the risk seems small when the man is Hugo Lafayette Black, who this month celebrates—or, more probably, ignores—his seventy-fifth birthday. For there is about this man an unmistakable aura of greatness. It is not alone the greatness of his contributions to constitutional law over more than a score of continuing years—although it is for these that he, like John Marshall and Oliver Wendell Holmes before him, will some distant day be best remembered. It is rather a greatness of mind and heart, a rare blending of intellectual keenness and courage with human compassion, that is far easier to sense than to define. And though much of this magical dual quality marks his work on the Court and seeps from between the lines of his opinions for all who can read to see, it can only be felt full-strength in the living presence of Hugo Black himself.

My own first meeting with Black came in the early summer of 1937. He was then a United States Senator; I was doing a piece for a magazine on a law, the Merchant Marine Act, which was largely the product of his probing and his pen. He had given me meticulous directions how to find his office, but he need scarcely have done so. For, shortly after supper, when I reached that big and ugly barn, the Senate Office Building, every office was dark save one; one Senator alone was still at work. He got up from his desk to greet me — a compact man with the bounce of a boxer, the courtliness of a Southern gentleman, and that friendly yet strong-in-depth look in his steady eyes. Just what we talked of makes no matter; it went well beyond the Merchant Marine Act. My chief recollection is of coming away, very late that night, not merely informed but strangely warmed and inspired.

The experience is common to all who meet the man. For some years back, my seminar students in constitutional law have had audiences with several Supreme Court members. Their reactions to each of the Justices as human beings have never varied. They are always delighted by Justice Brennan's casual camaraderie. They are always impressed by the good-humored, bear-like dignity of Chief Justice Warren. But it is Justice Black who lingers longest in their talk and in their thoughts. For him they catch and keep a sort of affectionate awe, an awareness of having encountered briefly a man they will never after forget. How put such a man in words on paper, whole?

The Who's Who stuff is perforce but two-dimensional. And yet he has been on the Court so long that few, if they ever knew, remember anything (save one inflated, essentially insignificant fact) about Hugo Black's first fifty-one years—about how he climbed from the crossroads cabin in deep-South cotton country where he was born, eighth child of a farmer father, to become one of the top leaders of the New Deal in Congress and Franklin Roosevelt's first Supreme Court appointment. The tale begins with a slight, wiry youngster in his early teens, giving up games to frequent the Clay County courthouse in Ashland, Alabama, during the few weeks court was in session, and sniffing in, spellbound, the acrid excitement of trial litigation. (He has since confessed to Walter Mitty-like dreams of glory as a famous advocate—but not of the greater kind of glory he was to achieve.) And just as thrilling as lawyers' duels with words, inside the courthouse, were the outdoor speeches, later in the year, of Populist and Bryan-Democratic orators, which interspersed political torch-light parades.

With both law and politics in his blood, by infusion rather than birth, Black, after a year's stint of medical study, turned ineluctably to law school and the bar. Before long, he was widely known as one of his state's leading trial lawyers, with cross-examination his special forte. Perhaps because of the brand of oratory he had soaked up back in Ashland, his clients came almost exclusively from the ranks of Roosevelt's "common men"—farmers, workers, small tradesmen, and beaten-down Negroes—although the power and iron and lumber companies and the banks were soon bidding high for his talents.

Top among these talents were two, and both are still marks of the man today. One is an extraordinary quality of intellect which loses nothing in depth for being sharp and quick and clean; an Alabama lawyer said of him, years ago, that when on his feet in court, he had "a triple-decker mind" in that he could simultaneously listen to a witness, forsee what the witness was going to say next, and plan what questions he, Black, would ask after the witness had said what Black foresaw he was going to say. Black's second special talent as a trial lawyer—and ever since—is more subtle and more rare. It is a mildness of voice and manner, stemming from his unassuming humility, which almost wholly masks the firmness and power behind it and leads all who oppose him to underestimate him — once.

Black was thus underestimated by

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all four of his prominent rivals — a former governor, a former state supreme court justice, a big-shot businessman, and a well-known lawyer who later became Senator John Bankhead—when in 1926, at the age of forty, he decided to give up his $40,000-to-$50,000-a-year law practice and indulge his long-dormant leaning toward politics by running for the United States Senate. He won the race going away; and so the "Clay County hill-billy" (his own phrase) went up to Washington, looking the very antithesis of a typical Southern Senator but soon to be acknowledged by his colleagues as the most back-breaking worker among them, as a bright new star so militantly liberal that one of them dubbed him an "evangelical progressive," and as an investigator so penetrating that committees to which he did not belong would borrow him to do their examining for them. A New Dealer for six years before there was a New Deal, he handily won a second term while F.D.R. was winning his first.

It was during Black's reelection campaign that the hostile Montgomery *Advertiser* dug up in detail and spread throughout Alabama the fact which most Americans best remember about his pre-Court life. (Five years later, a Pittsburgh reporter won a Pulitzer Prize simply by copying stories from the *Advertiser's* old files and so spreading the fact across the nation.) The fact, of course, is that Black in his younger days had briefly belonged to the Ku Klux Klan. That he joined the Klan thoughtlessly as a then-chronic joiner who signed up as well with the Masons, the Moose, the Oddfellows, the Knights of Pythias, and scores of others makes the fact, if no less unpalatable, at least less important. But that it was blown up to a plain implication of bigotry by those who wanted to keep him off the Supreme Court because he was too liberal for their taste was vicious and absurd; ignored was the fact, among many others, that Black, a Baptist, had been one of Catholic Al Smith's strongest Southern supporters in the 1928 Presidential race. And after the storm was over, the man without an atom of religious or racial intolerance settled down in 1937 to a judicial career that has ever since marked him as one of the greatest champions of human equality, regardless of color, race, or faith, ever to grace the Court and put meat and meaning into the words of the Constitution.

For the law, to Black, is not and has never been a juggling of concepts, a cross-play of principles, a writing of rules. It is rather an intricate tool, which, in skillful, humanitarian hands, can be used to make life better, or at least less hard and unfair, for the real men and women with whom the law always deals. As he said, soon after he came on the Court, in the course of a decision overturning the murder conviction of four young Southern Negroes whose confessions had been tortured out of them: "Under our constitutional system, courts stand against any wind that blows as havens of refuge for those who might otherwise suffer because they are helpless, weak, out-numbered, or because they are non-conforming victims of prejudice and public excitement . . .No higher duty, no more solemn responsibility, rests upon this Court than that of translating into living law and maintaining this constitutional shield deliberately planned and inscribed for the benefit of every human being subject to our Constitution—of whatever race, creed, or persuasion." This same deep empathy for people as people, especially for the less fortunate, underlies Black's whole judicial philosophy, be the case in question a criminal conviction, a recondite bit of statutory construction, or a seemingly cut-and-dried problem in contracts or corporate law.

But empathy alone would be easy —and unpersuasive. Black always bolsters his impulse to vote the humanitarian way with a wealth of careful scholarship such as few of his fellows can ever match in depth or range. By rigorous self-education which started in his youth and for years included a book-a-day diet during every summer, Black has made himself the best-read man on the Court, as he was in the Senate—not in the formal rigmarole of technical legal niceties but in the broader and more broadening realm of Western thought and ideas. The thousands of books in his library on history, economics, political theory—a dozen subjects that touch, or ought to, on law —have been not only read but marked, and it rarely takes him more than a minute to find a quote or reference he wants to use.

Hence the massive scholarly backing behind such hallmarks of Black's judicial slant and landmarks of his Court career as his lone dissent, while a freshman Justice, against the long-established rule that the "persons" protected by the due-process clauses of the Constitution include corporations; his early protest, carried on in case after case, against judicial exemption of interstate commerce from normal state taxes and regulations, in the absence of any Congressional order or authorization; his crusade, that came to a head in a famous four-man dissent, to have the Bill of Rights applied whole instead of piecemeal to the states, under the aegis of the Fourteenth Amendment; his increasingly successful insistence on full Supreme Court review of every tainted or suspect recovery-denying lower court decision, under those Federal statutes which insure the lives and limbs of railway and maritime workers; his related resolve to maintain intact the ancient right of jury trial in personal injury or death cases and in criminal cases as well; and, especially of late, his zeal to have the Court protect absolutely, under the absolute words of the First Amendment, the first four freedoms.

On some of these, as on other matters dear to his heart and his scholarly mind, Black has won but a partial victory if any victory at all. And yet it may some day make much sense to apply to a wider range of reference the words with which Black closed his *Dennis* dissent in the case where the Court upheld the abominable Smith Act—closed it on a note of wishful and almost wistful prognostication: "There is hope, however, that in calmer times, when present pressures, passions, and fears subside, this or some later Court will restore the First Amendment liberties to the high preferred place where they belong in a free society."

Inevitably, then, Black must be compared to Holmes, who also lost most of his big judicial battles on

the Court—and with whom there are other points of striking likeness. Thus, Black is, as was Holmes, a deeply book-learned man, although the two achieved their learning in utterly disparate ways: Holmes almost by osmosis from his background, upbringing, and early education; Black in spite of his. Black (with Douglas) is, as was Holmes (with Brandeis), the acknowledged leader of what, for all its fuzziness, can only be called the Court's liberal wing. Since that wing is, as it was in Holmes' day, more often than not in the minority, Black's greatest and most eloquent exhortations for a dynamic, unstuck-in-the-mud-of-the-past brand of judicial liberalism have usually been spoken, as were Holmes', in dissent. And one last similarity comes into the picture if only by inferred projection; it is simply that, though Holmes may have lost most of his big battles while he lived, his ideas were to win the war after his death. So might Black's.

But Black can be contrasted to Holmes as easily as compared. Where Holmes spent all of his adult life as a lawyer-teacher-jurist and knew nothing of other government processes except second-hand, Black served eleven active years in the nation's top legislative body and knew much that Holmes could never have known about the intimate day-to-day workings of government in action — a knowledge of incalculable value on a Court so often called on to interpret laws or occasionally overturn them. Again, where Holmes, though wisely tolerant, viewed affairs—and cases—with Olympian detachment plus a touch of amused or annoyed condescension, Black passionately cares about the stuff of life that the Court deals with through law and about the part the Court can play in running the government on behalf of the people. So too, where Holmes, with his way-up-there air of skepticism and serenity, saw the Court's proper role, in his own image, as a comparatively passive observer of what went on in the nation down below, Black sees the Court's role likewise in mirror of himself, as an active participant in what goes on in the nation all around it. In this sense, Black's judicial philosophy stems, as Holmes' did not, from that of John Marshall, the great Chief Justice who never blinked at using the Court, the law, and the Constitution as tools toward whatever ends he cared to achieve. Indeed, there is in Black a mid-Twentieth Century amalgam of the best of Marshall with the best of Holmes.

This man is meant for the ages. No future Supreme Court Justice, a hundred years hence or a thousand, will ignore with inner impunity the myriad brilliant insights, learned analyses, yes, and fervent faiths that mark, in majority or dissent, his judicial record. The pity is only that Hugo Lafayette Black in person—he of the warm wisdom and quiet courage and gentle strength—cannot, as will his opinions, live forever.

New Frontiers in Africa

by SENATOR FRANK E. MOSS

THE EMERGENCE of sixteen new, independent African nations in a single year is shaking to their very foundations both the continent of Africa and much of the free world. These reverberations have been intensified because the change came with a speed for which no one seems to have been prepared.

Recently I visited several of these and other African nations as a member of a United States Senate inspection mission. I returned with the conviction that the fluid situation there is made to order for political and economic penetration by the Soviet bloc, and that we must move quickly and skillfully if we are to avert a severe diplomatic and strategic defeat.

Starting from Morocco, we flew east over the Mediterranean to Libya and Egypt; south to Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanganyika, and Rhodesia; northeast to Elizabethville and Leopoldville in the Congo; north to Nigeria; west along the Ivory Coast; and then to Togo, Ghana, Liberia, Guinea, Mali, and Senegal.

FRANK E. MOSS, United States Senator from Utah, is a former judge and prosecutor. He recently returned from an extensive swing through Africa in company with several other Senators and the President's brother, Edward Kennedy.

Five weeks is a short time to cover 22,000 miles and to form valid judgments concerning a land so vast and a subject so complex as Africa; particularly is this the case on a first trip, as this one was for all three of the Senators in our mission. But for those five weeks we did study Africa and her people intensively. We talked with opposition politicians, educators, labor officials, newspapermen, and ambassadors of foreign nations, as well as government leaders; we were questioned in numerous press conferences; and we conferred frequently with members of United States missions concerning diplomatic, economic, and social questions.

We came home convinced that while individual attention must be given to many African problems, there are three well-defined elements of policy that the United States should apply generally throughout Africa:

One—To support self-determination and self-government for all nations, in the United Nations and elsewhere.

Two—To develop an expanded program of technical assistance for those nations that will use it to develop self-government.

Three—To strengthen the hand of the United Nations to enable that organization to minimize seizures of power and keep local struggles from spreading into general war.

The pride of the new nations in their independence, and their determination to assert the prerogatives that go with it, were forcefully brought to our attention in Morocco on our first day in Africa. That country, which has been the center of our great air and communications operations since the Casablanca landing of World War II, achieved independence from France and Spain in 1956. Since then, Morocco has asked the United States to evacuate its military bases, as part of its policy to remove all foreign troops from its soil. Within two years, the last of our planes will be gone from our air fields there, and, according to present plans, will be replaced by MIG's and IL 28's given, but not manned, by the Russians. A leader of the Moroccan labor movement defended the acceptance of Russian aircraft as a political move designed to muffle the cries of the left and make easier the acceptance of Western assistance without charges of favoring imperialists. He could not say what they would do with the MIG's, and left the impression that owning them was primarily a matter of prestige.

At Tangier, which is no longer an international city and port, we are obliged to vacate the great Voice of America relay base, one which beams our story to the Iron Curtain countries. Most of the equipment will be left behind.

Yet Africans generally do not feel toward us as they do toward Europeans. A conversation with the United Arab Republic's minister of public works left me with the impression that his government feels constrained to exclude British and French, as former colonial powers, from business or political association, but welcomes Americans.

Africans do resent the apparent orientation of our national policy with that of the colonial powers. In virtually every country the people we met expressed disappointment over our position in the Algerian struggle, which in Africa is not a local question; the entire continent demands Algeria's independence. The election to the Presidency of John F. Kennedy has brought hope of new support because of his 1957 Senate speech condemning as unrealistic our unqualified support of France, and urging us to exert more influence in favor of a greater degree of Algerian independence.

On the other hand, Africans were dismayed when our then United Nations Ambassador James Wadsworth failed to support a United Nations motion that simply condemned colonialism—on instructions from President Eisenhower, who was responding to an appeal from Britain's Prime Minister Harold Macmillan. The United States also voted against an African-Asian resolution in the General Assembly's political committee supporting independence for Algeria and recommending a referendum supervised by the United Nations. After the referendum reference was amended out, the United States abstained in the final vote, which passed, 89-0. In abstaining we joined the colonial powers of Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Great Britain, and France, plus the Union of South Africa.

To alter and invigorate our policy toward Africa while maintaining close cooperation with our NATO allies and strengthening our position in Europe and elsewhere is a big order. But the colonial period that began in the Sixteenth Century with the division of the world between Spain and Portugal is over, and both we and the Europeans must adapt our actions to that fact.

Premier Charles de Gaulle's efforts to resolve France's African crisis surely signal the beginning of a new era. Every European we met in Africa is convinced that independence for all of Africa is at hand, and most are cooperating in facilitating the transition.

Essential to our identification with African independence is an understanding that neutralism need not be anti-Western or pro-Russian. The belief of the early Eisenhower years that Communist penetration could be rolled back or the collapse of Russia brought about by a combination of internal weakness and fear of massive retaliation, has proved illusory. In that atmosphere, neutralism may have seemed an evil.

But what African statesmen told us they mean by neutrality is non-involvement in world affairs which they are in no position to influence, plus the absolutely essential opportunity to construct governments and develop productive economies in an atmosphere of freedom. It is hard to quarrel with this position—it is precisely that taken by the United States in our formative years following the American revolution.

It is also essential that we make the African people and their leaders realize that the new colonialism is that practiced by the Soviet bloc. In many press conferences we pointed out that Russia has built the only new colonial empire of the Twentieth Century, and asked if our questioners were opposed to that. They said they are; yet the colonialism that is real to them is the one they have themselves experienced under Western domination.

Many Africans, of course, consider association with Western Europe essential. And many of them well understand the propaganda and policies of the Soviet Union. At Dakar, once slated to be the center of the hoped-for constitutional federation of the French Community, Thiam Dowdon, Senegal's foreign minister and delegate to the United Nations, expressed pleasure in the interest President Kennedy was taking in Africa.

Senegal is an example, he said, of a colony that was never "oppressed," and one that wishes to retain close ties with the French Community. He told us how active the Soviet bloc was in many African states, and commented that the veto of the entrance of nearby Mauretania into the United Nations was evidence of Russia's de-

liberate policy of stirring unrest. (Many others, however, blame the "world power struggle," not the Russians, for keeping Mauretania out.)

One of the great hazards in making the transition to independent African governments is that, because of the lack of civil administrators, political demands may outrun technical competence. Many of the new states have a few leaders of experience and ability, but there are almost no replacements in depth. There is no supply of institutional administrators, or business or professional men to draw on. There are fewer than 2,000 lawyers to serve the entire continent, and in all of Tanganyika, only one.

Yet this condition offers the United States a great opportunity—if we would only grasp it. A discouraging example of the result of temporizing with this problem is the condition of Guinea, which we discussed with its President, Sekou Toure, and his cabinet. According to his account, when the country voted in 1958 to leave the French Community, the French administrators, in a fit of pique, pulled out abruptly and took everything with them—not only personnel, but records, office equipment, law books, and even the light bulbs from public buildings. Stripped of its administrative machinery and in desperate need of money and advice, Guinea was willing to accept help from any source. But while the United States equivocated and finally offered only a token loan—partly because of our ties with France—the Soviet Union promptly provided substantial credits, and technicians and administrators who became political advisers. Now that nation seems to be on the Marxist road: it has one political party and no free speech; sixty per cent of its trade is with Russia and her satellites. Had local Guineans been trained and prepared to take over the functions of government and the economy, or if the United States had filled the breach without delay, it might now be a truly democratic state.

GUILT BY SUBPOENA

by PATRICK MURPHY MALIN

single copy	10 cents
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Reprint Department

The Progressive

Madison, Wisconsin

Having encouraged and aided the African nations to achieve independence, we are obliged to follow through with sound economic aid. For the fiscal year 1961, some $250,000,000 was appropriated for assistance to African nations. This may seem an impressive amount, but it is only one-one hundred sixtieth of our military budget. Most of it is in the Point Four category—technical assistance in contrast to military aid. This is the pattern that should be continued and expanded. Although large amounts of capital will eventually be required in Africa, the immediate need is for modest amounts of aid directed to those areas that will assist the establishment of stable governments.

Economic aid is particularly needed in four categories: civil administration—the importance of which has been illustrated—agriculture, education, and health.

America's unmatched power to produce agricultural products should be a powerful instrument in gaining the friendship of African nations, for almost all of them need increases in quantities and varieties of foodstuffs. Many African countries must, like India, increase food production substantially merely to maintain present living standards. Seventy-five per cent of native Africans are engaged in subsistence agriculture.

Land reform, improved land management, fertilization, irrigation, and crop rotation are all needed, as are agricultural college and extension facilities. Mechanization should also be brought about as fast as economic conditions permit.

The explosive political question of division of the land may critically affect future agriculture production. Ethiopia, for example, has a great potential for increasing her standard of living through cattle raising, accompanied by a disease eradication program, and the introduction of several new crops, including cotton and sugar cane. But virtually all the land is owned by the crown, the church, or the Ras (the highly placed families), and the farmers are, in effect, merely sharecroppers. Improved methods, plus the stimulus of private ownership, could give new life to that nation's economy. But the aging Emperor Haile Selassie, who rules the country as a feudal kingdom, seems unable or unwilling to effect genuine land reform.

In Kenya, in the wake of the Mau Mau terror, the British introduced a program of land reform which promises a dramatic improvement in the welfare of the people. Many farmers who previously owned several small non-contiguous plots have had their holdings consolidated and have been given the benefit of on-the-farm training. As far as possible, each farm has been planned to contain both slope and flat land and to have access to a road. Crop rotation and fertilization of the land have begun. As a result, some farmers' annual incomes have risen almost tenfold.

One of Africa's greatest needs is education at all levels. Only a few Africans are college educated and most of them are schooled abroad. The African nations are striving to increase educational opportunities for their people and gladly devote a high proportion of their budgets to this purpose. But illiteracy still runs about eighty per cent.

The greatest educational bottleneck is secondary schools—teachers and facilities. The handsome multiracial university in Salisbury, Rhodesia, operated under the tutelage of the University of London, lacks qualified entrants. And there are ten times more openings for Tanganyikan students at universities and graduate schools than there are students prepared to enter. A brilliant Ford Foundation report on African manpower demonstrates that secondary school teachers are the present imperative need in Africa, just as they were in the rehabilitation of the war-devastated countries after World War II.

In addition to aid and encouragement for primary and secondary and college programs, we should offer Africans our experience in adult education and that gained in war-time vocational training programs.

To provide medical care to the great bulk of her citizens, Africa must

increase her supply of everything in the health field: doctors, nurses, public health officials, hospitals, and training facilities. The Great White Fleet proposed in a bill now before the United States Senate could help by rushing disaster aid, and, between emergencies, providing training in public health techniques. The missionaries in Africa have done much for Africans in the medical field but their selfless, often heroic efforts must be augmented by the large-scale assistance that only a large and wealthy nation can provide.

In addition to working in these four general areas, the United States should re-examine its original plan to assist the United Arab Republic in building the high Aswan Dam on the Nile. This two billion dollar project has become a symbol to African peoples in their drive for a better life, and we should play our part. (Since returning, I have been criticized for saying this, on the ground that it lends comfort to the UAR's President Gamal Abdel Nasser, who does not act like our friend. Perhaps he is not. But he insists that he is anti-Communist even though the Russians are busily building the dam. And I can not see how we hope to benefit from Egyptian poverty.)

By ourselves, we can support the independence of the new states and extend much of the needed technical assistance. But we must have cooperation, particularly United Nations cooperation, for peace in Africa.

The crisis in the Congo illustrates the terrible dilemma that faces the United States if the United Nations fails—that of witnessing a widespread Russian takeover or of being drawn into fighting, almost alone, the wrong war in the wrong place. We can avoid this dilemma only through multi-lateral United Nations action. Any action taken by us entirely or principally in conjunction with only the NATO powers would be rejected by many Africans.

If the solution to the Congo lies in the United Nations, it should be recalled that there are now twenty-five African voices in the United Nations. To alter the United Nations' present irresolute course and counter the obvious Russian campaign to render the United Nations impotent, the votes of most of these nations, and those of many South American nations as well, are needed.

But it is to our advantage that the nations of Africa are proud of their membership in the United Nations and of the status in the world community which that membership gives them. They want the organization to succeed. Their attitude provides an ideal opportunity to build the United Nations into the effective instrument for peace that we seek.

Here are a few additional reflections on our findings:

¶ The question of racial discrimination in the United States was raised time and again at our news conferences. We pointed out that great progress had been made; that discrimination in public education and in many employment areas was against the law and on the decline; and that most Americans neither practiced nor approved racial discrimination. Clearly any improvement in this field will proportionately improve our relations with black Africans.

¶ We were also conscious of how few Americans speak foreign languages and what a diplomatic handicap this can be. Our visit to Abidjan coincided with a conference of the presidents of the Ivory Coast, Niger, Upper Volta, and Dahomey, and we were invited to have dinner with these men. The Africans spoke only French, and neither I nor my Senatorial colleagues could talk with them. One member of our party who speaks some French pleased them greatly by crossing the language barrier.

¶ The lack of knowledge and experience among Africans concerning private business enterprise complicates our relations with them. An Israeli ambassador in Africa stressed this point, saying that Africans have great difficulty adapting to Western capitalism. The propaganda of the Soviet Union, the excesses of some colonial powers, and other factors have made most Africans believe that complete socialism is the road to both freedom and national wealth. Much government planning and government enterprise will undoubtedly be needed in Africa, but she could benefit enormously from the stimulus of individual enterprise as well.

¶ It is rather generally agreed that our information efforts must be expanded and improved around the world, especially in Africa. Africans hear too little about the countries which are unwillingly behind the Iron Curtain, and momentous events like the food production failures in China receive little notice. We must make them understand clearly the contrast between our society and that of the Soviet bloc.

¶ Finally, many African statesmen believe that the future of their continent may well depend on whether pan-African organizations can be developed—constitutional federations, leagues, and trade areas.

Unsuccessful attempts were made to establish a federation of the nine countries of the French Community, all of them now independent. An informal relationship continues in the Four Entente states—Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Niger, and Dahomey—which consult frequently. The British were hopeful that an east African federation could be established prior to the date set for the independence of Uganda, Kenya, and Tanganyika, but this appears unlikely. Despite present difficulties, a long-term aim of American policy should be to encourage actively the formation of free pan-African organizations.

The momentous changes occurring in Africa coincide with the assumption of power by newer, younger, more vigorous leadership in Washington. The immediate concern the Administration has shown in African problems is cause for confidence that America will apply the degree of statesmanship needed to bring the new states into the community of freedom.

CIVIL DEFENSE: BILLION DOLLAR BOONDOGGLE
by SENATOR STEPHEN YOUNG

single copy	10 cents
three copies	25 cents
twenty copies	$1

Reprint Department
The Progressive
Madison, Wisconsin

China and the U.N.— Time for Reappraisal

by SYDNEY D. BAILEY

LAST OCTOBER, the General Assembly decided by forty-two votes to thirty-four (with twenty-two abstentions) not to consider any proposal to seat representatives of Communist China in the United Nations. This was the eleventh time the Assembly had refused to examine this question; it may have been the last. When the next regular session of the Assembly meets in September, there may well be a majority in the United Nations voting for at least debating the issue, if not for seating Peking. The Kennedy Administration has inherited a position on this question which, to the rest of the world, seems less and less realistic each year. The friends of the United States, many of whom have voted with her on this question, are wondering how the issue can be dealt with in the future without putting an intolerable strain on the Western alliance.

The arguments against establishing diplomatic relations with Communist China are well known. It is said that the Peking government does not represent the true will of the Chinese people and that it has been guilty of aggression; that the United States must stand by Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalists on Taiwan; that any weakening of the Western attitude towards Communist China would be regarded by the free nations of Asia, particularly those in which there are substantial communities of overseas Chinese, as an abandonment of their cause.

I find these assertions understandable, though I question whether they lead to the conclusion that United States interests are now served by a policy of non-recognition. But the question of diplomatic relations is a matter for debate by Americans and Chinese.

The United Nations issue is something different, and as a non-American I feel no inhibition about expressing an opinion on the matter in a responsible United States journal. The question of who should represent China in the United Nations affects us all, and when the issue comes to be voted on, the votes of all the ninety-nine members of the United Nations will count the same. There is no veto in the General Assembly.

The question has political and legal aspects; they must be considered separately.

I do not see how the United Nations can deal realistically with such crucial political issues as nuclear tests or disarmament without the participation of representatives of mainland China. I doubt the value of debating the situation in Tibet in the absence of the accused. Communist China is a great power, and the fact that I happen to dislike the ideology and methods of her rulers seems to me to have little bearing on whether or not she should be represented in the United Nations. The isolation of Communist China is possibly one of the reasons why her rulers have adopted increasingly doctrinaire and intransigent views.

Many governments, including my own, have pursued policies which have seemed to me to endanger the peace of the world, but I think it is desirable that erring governments should be in the United Nations. Their presence does not make the United Nations a more harmonious institution, but the United Nations is not just a club for the like-minded. The United Nations exists precisely because nations do pursue contrary policies; it is, in the words of the Charter, "a center for harmonizing the actions of nations . . ." Whatever may have been the intentions of the founding fathers, the United Nations has increasingly approached the principle of universality of membership.

As for the legal aspects, it is important to remember that "the Republic of China" is a founder member of the organization, and a permanent member of the Security Council, with the right of veto. Communist China has not applied for membership, since "China" is already a member. The point at issue is whether "China" should be represented by Peking or Taiwan. It is undeniable that the government in Peking effectively controls the Chinese mainland, and to recognize this fact of life involves no moral judgment about the character and policies of the Peking regime.

On political and legal grounds, it seems to me essential that efforts be made to bring the Peking government into the United Nations as "the Republic of China"—but this is to state a problem, not to solve it. Peking may be willing to accept the obligations and privileges of United Nations membership only on conditions which are unacceptable to the non-Communist world. Peking may insist, for example, that the United States abandon its support of the Nationalist regime on Taiwan, so that the island may be "liberated" by Communist forces from the mainland.

We have heard a good deal in the United Nations about self-determination. The principle is written into the United Nations Charter, and the people on Taiwan (both those who were born there and those who have fled there) are as entitled as any other people to invoke the principle. If, by a free decision, the majority of people on Taiwan opted for union with the Communist-run mainland, the United Nations should do all

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it could to facilitate the change peacefully, while providing opportunities of exile for the minority who preferred a different government. But it seems unlikely that this is what the people on Taiwan want.

It is true, of course, that Britain and America agreed at Cairo in 1943 that Taiwan should be restored to China after the war. I questioned the wisdom of the decision at the time; it certainly should not now be used as a pretext for handing over Taiwan as if it were a hunk of uninhabited real estate.

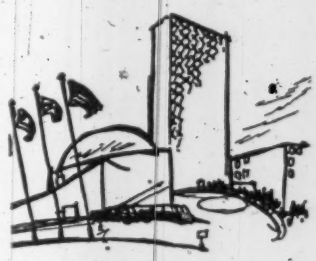
Any approach to this problem has to start from the facts. The unknown author of the Letters of Junius wrote that "Facts are apt to alarm us more than the most dangerous principles." You can only do two things about facts: change them or accept them. The facts about continental China and Taiwan cannot be changed without war. The United States must recognize the *fact* that the Peking government effectively controls the Chinese mainland; the Peking government must recognize the *fact* that the Nationalist regime effectively controls Taiwan. This is not a "Two Chinas" solution, which is rejected by both Peking and Taipei; it is a recognition of the realities of the present situation.

It may well be that Peking or Taipei or some other government will refuse to countenance any solution based on present realities. That would be regrettable, but not disastrous. The important thing is for the United States and its supporters to abandon a policy which is regarded in many parts of the world as unrealistic and dangerous. Moreover, there would still be a number of things which could be done to stabilize and improve the situation in the Far East.

First, it would be useful to explore various arrangements whereby the Central People's Government of China could increasingly be brought into the stream of world affairs, without actual United Nations membership. In particular, China should be invited to join in disarmament negotiations and to adhere to any test ban treaty which may be drafted by the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union.

A second step would be to begin normal personal and trade relations between China and the rest of the world. The trade embargo, except on clearly strategic materials, should be reviewed.

Third, negotiations should be initiated at the United Nations on a revision of the membership of the Security Council. Some enlargement may be necessary so that the new states of Asia and Africa can be more adequately represented. It is true that the Soviet bloc countries have rejected all proposals to enlarge the Security Council until Peking occupies the Chinese seat, but it might be possible to initiate quiet and exploratory exchanges of view in the hope that the questions of the size of the Council and the question of membership and representation can be settled concurrently.



A fourth step which would surely have a favorable effect on developments in the Far East, and which would not lessen the security of Taiwan, would be the withdrawal from the offshore-islands (Quemoy and the Matsus) of Kuomintang forces and those civilians wishing to leave. This is not, of course, a United States or Western decision; it is primarily a matter for the Nationalist government on Taiwan.

My fifth suggestion is addressed to the Communist government of China (though I confess that *The Progressive* may not be so widely read in Peking as it is elsewhere in the world). Is it inconceivable that, if there should be a slight but genuine improvement in Sino-Western relations, the Peking government would find some occasion to declare its support of those articles of a treaty banning tests of nuclear weapons which have already been agreed upon by the Soviet Union, the United States, and Britain?

Finally, there is a matter which may no longer seem crucial when this article appears in print. As far as we can tell now, in February, there are areas of China in which food is short. If suffering is to be avoided, China needs grain from abroad. The United States possesses embarrassingly large quantities of surplus grain. Is there no connection between these facts?

As an Englishman who has enjoyed the benefits of United States aid, I know how much more difficult it is to receive than to give. The government in Peking may prefer that Chinese people should be hungry rather than eat United States food.

A way to avoid some of the problems of the donor-recipient relationship may lie in a proposal sponsored by the United States and five other countries in the United Nations General Assembly last October, and approved unanimously. This was a proposal for the provision of food surpluses to food-deficient peoples through the United Nations system. Would it be possible for the United States to make a *gift* of surplus grain to the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, and for the F.A.O. to make a *loan* of grain to China on the understanding that the grain would be repaid when conditions in China permitted and would then be used to help other hungry people who might need grain at that time? Such a humanitarian effort could be without any political strings.

It is easy to find fault with all of the suggestions I have made: I am aware of many disadvantages. But may I suggest that those who find my suggestions unacceptable should formulate alternative proposals for dealing with the tangled skein of Sino-Western relations. I am confident the pages of *The Progressive* would be open to alternative or supplementary views.

HOW TO PASS YOUR LAW
by ROBERT SATTER

single copy	10 cents
three copies	25 cents
twenty copies	$1

Reprint Department
The Progressive
Madison, Wisconsin

Our Imperfect Encyclopedias

by HARVEY EINBINDER

ALMOST EVERYONE has been approached at one time or another by a persistent salesman who has promised to deliver, for a few dollars down and a few dollars a month, an encyclopedia containing the knowledge of the present and the wisdom of the past. Many people have been captivated by this exciting prospect and have eagerly purchased a set of books they later discovered was antiquated, poorly edited, and difficult to read.

The publication and distribution of encyclopedias constitute a large and flourishing business. Sales of reference books rose from $106 million in 1954 to $234 million in 1958. During 1961 more than $260 million will be spent by the public on encyclopedias—an amount almost as great as the total expenditure for textbooks of all kinds, and much greater than the dollar volume of the nation's 1,500 bookstores; it makes the twelve million dollars spent on quality paperbacks, about which there is so much publicity, seem rather puny and insignificant. The sales of a single firm, Grolier—which markets the *Americana* and *The Book of Knowledge*—currently exceed $70 million, which almost equals the dollar volume of all adult books sold through stores.

The distribution of encyclopedias is such a large and centralized business compared with other aspects of publishing that the financial resources of companies in the field are much greater than those of even the largest hardcover publishers. This permits many encyclopedia firms to engage in other ventures. Thus, Crowell-Collier, which publishes *Collier's Encyclopedia* and the *Harvard Classics*, owns radio stations in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Minneapolis, and it has recently acquired control of the Macmillan Company, the fourth largest trade books publisher in the United States.

The current prosperity of the encyclopedia business is reflected in the financial statements of leading firms in the field. In 1959, Crowell-Collier earned a profit before taxes of approximately $5 million on sales of $32 million. However, an interesting aspect of the encyclopedia business is that although five companies enjoy large sales, one work, as far as the general public is concerned, dwarfs all its competitors: the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. The *Britannica* enjoys this unique reputation because of an intensive program of advertising and publicity combined with the prestige of the host of celebrated scholars and authors who have contributed editorially to the set. As a result, its name has become almost synonymous with the word "encyclopedia."

One curious anomaly of the encyclopedia business is that its products are almost never evaluated or criticized. Magazines and newspapers devote many pages to the latest novel, biography, or bit of political journalism embalmed in hard covers, but almost nothing is printed about the reference works that represent such a major investment of the book-buying public. The merchandising of these reference works is a silent business beyond the reach of criticism, and the success of an encyclopedia depends largely on the skill and ingenuity of its salesmen, rather than its quality.

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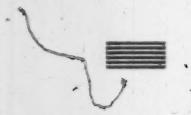
The mounting stress on higher education as an indispensable asset and the increasing competition for entrance into colleges have made the labor of encyclopedia salesmen so much the easier. They no longer find it necessary to persuade people that knowledge is an important asset and reference books a valuable possession. Parents are now eager to grasp at any aid that will assist their children in acquiring the advanced education which seems essential for their future social and financial success. The businessmen who publish and sell encyclopedias have recognized this shift toward a child-oriented society and are taking advantage of it.



The new approach can be clearly traced in the advertising program of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Once upon a time, appeals were directed primarily to adults, who were told that ownership of the *Britannica* would make them socially stimulating and intellectually respected. This was a natural approach because the *Encyclopaedia* is a reference work intended for adult readers. But now this appeal has been superseded by a new, more persuasive line aimed at the parents of young children. Evidence of this new look in encyclopedia selling can be found in a series of advertisements that appeared in the Sunday book section of the New York *Times* during 1959. On February 1, parents were asked:

> "WHICH IS MORE IMPORTANT TO YOUR CHILD . . . THE SIZE OF HIS HOME OR THE SIZE OF HIS MIND?"

And they were told: "The first step in enlarging the mind is knowledge, and that is why thinking parents put the acquisition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* before any other possession." This positive statement that the ownership of a set of books—a particular set of books—is just what every home needs, is reassuring to anxious parents who find their children more interested in television

and comic books than in reading and studying.

On August 23, a deeper note was struck when parents were asked:

"ARE YOU GIVING YOUR CHILDREN MORE THAN YOU HAD?"

Such a stern question can hardly fail to stimulate the sensitive nerves of parents. Once their anxiety is aroused, they are informed that if they "want to give their children this priceless gift of knowledge—the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* is an essential possession. With this world-famous treasure of knowledge in your home, your children will soon develop the habit of 'looking it up in the *Britannica*'—a habit that will help them acquire a standard of life to sustain them throughout life."

These advertisements appear under the name of Dr. J. Chapman Bradley, who one would presume to be a distinguished educator or child psychologist. There is some difficulty in determining Dr. Bradley's credentials. He is not listed in *Who's Who in America*, or *Who's Who in American Education*, or in any of the other standard biographical reference works. But his background is briefly described by Herman Kogan in the book, *The Great EB*. Kogan relates that "Doc" Bradley served as an ordained Presbyterian minister for a decade and then became a top executive of the American Bible Society. Since 1946 "Doc" Bradley has been with the *Britannica*—first as a salesman in the Bronx, and then as a district and finally a division manager in Chicago. Presumably "Doc" Bradley's important sales position makes him—in his employers' eyes—an authority on why the *Encyclopaedia* is an essential aid in educating youngsters.

The *Britannica* has gone even further in its hypnotic appeal to anxious parents. On September 27, at the beginning of the school year, parents were asked in the New York *Times*:

"HOW CAN YOU EXPRESS THE INEXPRESSIBLE LOVE YOU FEEL FOR YOUR CHILD?"

Lest parents be at a loss for an answer, they were instructed in the *EB* catechism: "Probably the most concrete way in which we show a genuine concern for our children is in the concern we have for their education . . . There can be no doubt that a respect for knowledge exists in a home where the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* is a valued possession."

The fact that the *Britannica* is not intended for and cannot be used by children, because of its scholarly and highly technical content, is irrelevant as far as advertising managers are concerned. Their job is to increase sales, and the truth of their copy is secondary. Their goal is to fashion an irresistible sales message which will make the *EB* appear indispensable to any parent who is concerned for the welfare of his children. Therefore it is only natural that advertising men should play on the sensitivity of middle class parents who are frightened by the prospect that they may be unwittingly depriving their children of some precious asset required for their future success.

Copywriters, of course, are not hampered by a necessity for truthful statements or factual accuracy. Thus, an advertisement in the March 19, 1960, *Saturday Review* states that the index of *Collier's Encyclopedia* contains 400,000 references, when it actually includes about 330,000. Such exaggeration is a common advertising practice, and copywriters will often go much further to produce an effective sales message. A good example is a full page advertisement in the New York *Times* December 14, 1959:

"IN THE RAPID MARCH OF PROGRESS, THE BOOK OF KNOWLEDGE HAS SOLVED BEYOND QUESTION OF DOUBT THE MODERN PROBLEM OF MAKING LEARNING FASCINATING TO GROWING MINDS."

Not content with this ambitious claim, the advertisement goes on to cite "the words of a great statesman whose remarkable career is a testimony to the value of self-reliance learned in childhood." The statesman is reputed to have said:

> "Had I to choose between a college education for my children and having them grow up daily companions with THE BOOK OF KNOWLEDGE, I would, without the least hesitation, decide in favor of THE BOOK OF KNOWLEDGE."

The "great statesman" is not identified. His astonishing choice is made not in favor of some great storehouse of learning, but for a set of volumes intended for young children.

Encyclopedias are not the only reference works that indulge in exaggerated claims. An advertisement in the Sunday book section of the New York *Times* September 11, 1960, urges parents to give their children a copy of *Roget's International Thesaurus* because "this book will get them better marks." "Help them," parents are told, "to write interestingly, vividly, accurately. Give them the help the best students are getting now." The advertisement then lists the features of the work:

* Largest, most complete book of synonyms and antonyms
* More than 200,000 words and phrases
* Up-to-date with 74,978 NEW words

Thus, almost forty per cent of all the entries are new words. The truth behind this misleading claim, however, is that the latest copyright date in *Roget's International Thesaurus* published by Thomas Y. Crowell is 1946. Furthermore, the cover of the book prominently displays the caption "New Edition," although the work has been published without change for the last fourteen years.

Such deceptive advertising is not an isolated occurrence. Collegiate dictionaries make a practice of exaggerating the number of vocabulary entries they contain. One of the most striking examples is the advertising for the *Merriam-Webster New International Dictionary*. An advertisement in the February, 1961, issue of *Harper's*, as well as in many other magazines, extols this dictionary by announcing that it *"Answers more questions than any other refer-*

ence work . . . for a fraction of the price you'd expect to pay!" The advertising copy states that this unabridged dictionary "is the world's greatest 'information center'—equivalent in printed material to an eighteen volume encyclopedia . . . containing so much encyclopedic matter that it has become famous as the 'great question answerer.' It covers the entire range of man's knowledge of this eventful era."

The advertising message fails to mention, however, that the text of the Merriam-Webster "New" unabridged dictionary was completed in 1934, and that its 2,987 pages, including the preface and introduction, have been reprinted without change ever since that date. The only concession to this "eventful era" is a brief addenda of new words which occupies forty pages in the front of the work. The G.&C. Merriam Company can make this claim unchallenged because it has no effective competition in the field of unabridged dictionaries. Consequently it can offer the public its somewhat antiquated "question answerer" without any fear of losing sales. The company once followed the same policy with its *Collegiate Dictionary*, reprinting the text without change for years—with the exception of a brief introductory section on new words. But Merriam-Webster has been forced to abandon this policy because two competing publishers are producing college dictionaries that are continually revised.

The marketing of encyclopedias is one of the last strongholds of direct selling. To attract likely prospects, many techniques have been devised which are peculiar to this business. One of the oldest is a telephone call from a salesman who announces the good news that, because you are such a distinguished leader in your community, you have been selected to receive a set free of charge just for the advertising value of its presence in your home. Later, when the salesman arrives to discuss the matter, he reveals that there is a small charge (of several hundred dollars), but he assures you the cost is far below what an ordinary consumer pays for the encyclopedia. The "small charge" is, of course, exactly what everyone else pays.

This technique was described in detail by E. H. Powell, who served for many years as the *Britannica's* chief executive officer, in an article in the *Saturday Evening Post* of July 28, 1945. When Powell first discovered that *EB* salesmen were using this devious approach, he was appalled and ordered a thorough reform of the sales staff to eliminate this unethical practice. But Powell left the *Britannica* in 1948. As many consumers have learned, this method has been revived. On September 16, 1960, an initial decision of a hearing examiner for the Federal Trade Commission was made public: it found that the *Britannica* had been falsely advertising the price for a combination offer of books and research services. The company is now appealing the examiner's findings to the full Commission because, as a spokesman in Chicago explained, the *Encyclopaedia* has always had the highest sales standards.

Apparently even an order of the Federal Trade Commission is not sufficient to halt the use of deceptive sales techniques. On November 30, 1960, after a three day jury trial, the publisher of the *Encyclopedia Americana* was found guilty in the U.S. District Court of Maryland on eight counts and was fined $16,000 for violating an F.T.C. Cease and Desist Order. The jury found that the publishers had falsely represented that the *Encyclopedia Americana* was available at a reduced or special price to a specially selected group of prospects—a practice which had been expressly forbidden by the F.T.C.

Lavish rewards offered sales personnel are a familiar aspect of the encyclopedia business. Contrastingly meager payments made to editorial contributors follow inevitably from the emphasis placed on salesmanship rather than scholarship. Generally encyclopedias like to boast about the vast sums they spend in preparing new editions while remaining reticent about their payments to authors. Thus *World Book Encyclopedia* proudly announces that its 1960 edition cost $2,800,000 to prepare but makes no effort to break this figure down into its component parts.

The *Britannica*, however, is an exception: it makes a special point of the fact that its contributors are paid only two cents a word. It likes to recall that George Bernard Shaw received only $68.50 for his essay on socialism and Albert Einstein $86.50 for his article on space-time. The *Encyclopaedia's* editors insist they have never had difficulty in recruiting contributors even at these low rates. According to *The Great EB*, "Many experts and scholars realize the prestige attached to being asked to contribute to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and less than two per cent of those invited have ever declined." Although the *Britannica* publicly boasts that it has paid contributors at the rate of two cents a word ever since 1929, it neglects to mention that the set cost only $129.50 in 1929, while today its price is $298.

An encyclopedia is a valuable educational tool which is widely used by teachers and students, particularly in elementary and high schools. Sometimes encyclopedia publishers seem unduly concerned with publicity rather than scholarship, in much the same way that many college alumni stress the prowess of their alma mater on the football field rather than the classroom. Thus the owners of *World Book*, which sells more copies than any other encyclopedia, advanced $200,000 to sponsor Sir Edmund Hillary in a highly publicized stunt search for the Abominable Snowman in the Himlayas.

The effect of commercial considerations is sometimes obvious in the treatment of sensitive or controversial topics. The 1960 edition of *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia* contains an elaborate series of transparent acetate pictures showing successive layers of human anatomy. But an examination of these pictures reveals that the figure represented is neither male nor female, but a composite humanoid devoid of sex organs, designed to prevent children who use the set from discovering the anatomical differences between the sexes, thus forestalling any criticism from sexual prudes. The *Britannica Junior* states that there is no conflict between the theories of evolution and religious belief—a comforting observation that ignores not only the

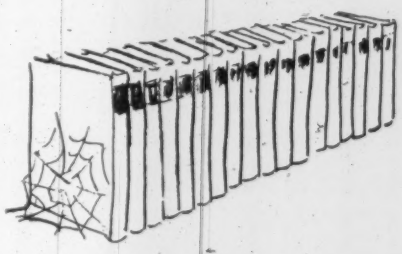
Scopes trial but several generations of heated controversy about the origins of man as well. A final example is furnished by the article in *World Book* on the free enterprise system—a eulogy of the profit motive and *laissez faire* that could have been written by a publicist for the National Association of Manufacturers; it carefully avoids any unpleasant topics such as recession, unemployment, monopolies, and cartels.

In many instances, important developments are neglected by encyclopedias despite the practice of annual revision. The entries on heredity and genetics in the 1960 *Collier's Encyclopedia* say nothing about the central role of DNA, the complicated molecule which transmits hereditary information, although this discovery has transformed the science of genetics during the last decade. The article on the Negro in America in the 1960 *Americana* fails to mention the historic 1954 decision of the Supreme Court outlawing segregation in public schools, although the decision is briefly noted elsewhere in the *Encyclopedia*.

Editors often have difficulty in securing suitable "authorities" as contributors. They frequently employ foreign scholars to write on their native countries. However, this is sometimes a hazardous practice, particularly in dealing with dictatorial regimes. This is illustrated by the *Americana's* article on Spain which is written, in part, by Spanish experts. The section on constitutional law quotes without comment from a statute of 1945: "The Spanish state proclaims that the ruling principle in its actions is respect for the dignity, integrity, and liberty of the human person;" and it then notes—"The family is regarded and protected as the natural, fundamental institution of society, and work is exalted and dignified." The author of this section can hardly speak frankly about conditions existing under Franco's rule since he is dean of the law faculty at the University of Madrid. Another section dealing with national defense was prepared by a general in the Spanish army who writes:

> "Spain . . . can boast of the well-earned title as defender of the liberty of Europe—a title she is prepared to revalidate if put to the test. If she stands alone, she will fight to the end with arms adequate or inadequate, many or few, new or old. If any nation offers her assistance on equal terms, however, it will find in Spain a loyal ally."

Such patriotic sentiments would seem more appropriate for a public rally



of the Falange than the sober pages of an American encyclopedia.

The lapses of the *Britannica* are particularly striking because of its extraordinary reputation for accuracy and reliability. Its editors claim that every article in the set is considered for revision at least once every five years, yet the 1960 edition does not mention the Lascaux Cave Paintings which were discovered in 1940, and there is nothing of substance on radioactive fallout and strontium-90, which have been matters of grave international concern for the past six years. Despite the current excitement over satellites, sputniks, and space flight, the article on Mars has remained unchanged for the last thirty years. Consequently, it neglects recent information now available on the Martian atmosphere and sheds no light on the intriguing question of whether life exists on Mars. Gaps also exist in the coverage of international affairs: there are two separate entries on Trujillo, one dealing with a province in the Dominican Republic and the other with a city in the coastal desert of northern Peru. But there is no entry on Rafael Trujillo, who has ruled the Dominican Republic for the last thirty years.

During the past decade, there has been an enormous increase in *Britannica* sales—from $12 million in 1952 to $55 million in 1959—and as a result of this increased sales volume, more money than ever before is being spent on editorial revision. The editors report that 7,250,000 word changes have been made in the 1960 edition. However, a close examination reveals that much of this editorial revision consists merely in cutting and patching old entries to bring them "up-to-date."

A good example is the article on Ulysses Grant, which has just been revised by adding a fresh section describing his Civil War career. The remainder of the old article has been retained even though it was written by John Fiske, who died in 1901, and offers an inflated eulogy of a singularly incompetent President which sharply disagrees with the views of modern historians.

The 1960 edition contains an expanded entry on Oliver Elsworth, third Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court. This new article, written by President John F. Kennedy while he was in the United States Senate, occupies half a page in the *Britannica*. Although the accomplishments of Oliver Elsworth are treated in great detail, there is no article on Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, who is at least as important a subject to contemporary readers as is Oliver Elsworth. Indeed, in the entire *Encyclopaedia*, only four sentences are devoted to the Senator from Wisconsin who exerted such a profound influence on American intellectual life during the 1950's. This apparent reluctance to deal with the astonishing career of Senator McCarthy and the ominous subject of McCarthyism is rather surprising, since William Benton, who owns a two-thirds interest in the *Britannica*, waged a vigorous and courageous campaign during his three years in the Senate against McCarthy and his reckless methods.

Perhaps the most striking example of the *Britannica's* failure to keep up with the times is its twenty-five-year-old biography of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. There is no bibliography attached to the biography, and with the exception of two brief paragraphs dealing with the Presidential elections of 1936, 1940, and 1944, the article is restricted to Roosevelt's first term in office. For information on his second and third terms, read-

ers are directed to the entry on the United States. One might think that this antiquated biography has been retained because F.D.R. is still a controversial figure in certain circles, but a much more probable reason is that if the one and three-fourths page article on Franklin Roosevelt were expanded to include the events of his second and third terms, it might be necessary to disturb the "classic" five page article on Theodore Roosevelt, which has been reprinted for the last thirty years.

Curiously, however, there is a fresh biography of Herbert Hoover, written from a conservative Republican point of view, which is as long as the entry on Franklin Roosevelt. There is no suggestion that Hoover failed to cope with the massive problem of unemployment and the paralysis of the economic system.

It is difficult to attack the soundness and authority of an encyclopedia within the limits of a magazine article because of the large size of such reference works and the general belief that their contents are accurate and reliable. This difficulty is accentuated in dealing with the *Britannica* because it is widely accepted as a last court of appeal in settling disputed factual questions. Thus, when I presented a critical appraisal of its contents in the Winter 1960 issue of the *Columbia University Forum*, Robert Hutchins, chairman of the *Encyclopaedia*, complained in the following issue that my criticism was superficial because I singled out only ninety of the *Britannica's* 42,000 entries. Such partial coverage in unavoidable in a short article, and this has forced me to write a full-length book to document more fully the disparity that exists between the *EB's* reputation and its achievements.

The profit instinct has always been a powerful motive in stimulating the efforts of encyclopedia publishers. In the past, publishers were content to leave editors with a free hand once they had allocated the necessary funds. But today publishers are often guided not by the requirements of scholarship but by the findings of market research as they consciously strive to produce reference works that will appeal to an ever-larger number of consumers. The importance of isolating the commercial spirit from the objectives of scholarship is clearly demonstrated by the history of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. When the great eleventh edition was issued fifty years ago, the work was owned by two shrewd and aggressive Americans, Horace Hooper and Walter Jackson. They promoted the set with a bold and vigorous advertising campaign that overwhelmed the resistance of consumers. But editorial control over the work rested firmly in the hands of the London *Times*, which had been receiving royalties ever since 1898. Hooper and Jackson were unable to exert any influence on the contents of the set because the *Times* assumed full responsibility for the preparation of the eleventh edition, and the editor of the *Times*, Moberly Bell, would not allow the reputation of his newspaper to be compromised by commercial considerations. Matters are quite different today.

The mediocre quality of many contemporary American reference works confirms the truism that the goals of scholarship and the aims of salesmanship are not synonymous. The commercial spirit is incapable of providing an incentive for scaling the heights of scholarship. Massive projects, such as the *Oxford English Dictionary*, which took seventy years to complete, would never have been carried through if they depended on their commercial prospects. Such enterprises can never hope to compete with popular works intended for a large audience; yet the progress of learning depends on scholarly undertakings. Without effective leadership from learned societies, colleges, and universities, it is unlikely that these projects will be initiated and carried to completion in the future. Without effective criticism of existing encyclopedias, the public is unlikely to receive sound value for its money, and publishers will be tempted to concentrate their efforts on sales promotion rather than editorial improvement. Therefore, it is important that such works be periodically examined and criticized to maintain adequate standards of utility and scholarship.

In the past, encyclopedias have played a significant role in the intellectual history of their time. The *Encyclopedie* edited by Diderot and D'Alembert marked the beginning of a new spirit of enlightenment and religious toleration in Eighteenth Century France that was to lead ultimately to the French Revolution. The eleventh edition of the *Britannica* was one of the jewels of British scholarship that was carried to the outposts of the Empire as one of the symbols of the English way of life. Today an encyclopedia can fill an important need by serving as a bridge between the advanced countries of the West and the underdeveloped nations of Asia and Africa which are struggling to enter the Twentieth Century. These nations look to America and its allies not only for financial aid but also for the educational and technical assistance that will enable them to become modern industrialized societies.

An encyclopedia can assume an important role in the process of education, because it encompasses the entire circle of learning within the confines of a single set of books that can be readily transported to distant parts of the world where library facilities are meager and institutions of higher learning severely limited. These educational demands, I suggest, call for the creation of an ambitious new encyclopedia—one that will embody the advances of Twentieth Century learning, not only in the fields of science and technology, but also in anthropology, sociology, economics, and political science. Clearly such a large-scale project would require support from the Federal government or private foundations, since it could hardly be sustained on its commercial prospects; yet such a comprehensive new encyclopedia would encompass the ever expanding domain of knowledge and serve as a monument to the persistent and unfettered search for truth that is a distinguishing mark of a free society. A reference work dedicated to the pursuit of learning would furnish a striking example of American intellectual enterprise and would supplement our military and economic strength by making a positive contribution to the diffusion of knowledge and the cause of world peace.

AFRICA'S SOUTHWEST HELL

by SHERIDAN GRISWOLD

GO INTO the bush anywhere in Africa, into the simplest village, the most isolated hinterland, and you will find there is one white man who is universally known and trusted by Africans. Yet few know of him in America. Reverend Michael Scott is the "white African" hero who is revered throughout Africa for his fifteen years of dedicated efforts, in the face of overwhelming difficulties, and without any thought of self, to carry to the world the cause of the oppressed peoples of South West Africa, who have been refused the right to express their grievances by the Union of South Africa.

Africa beats a strong rhythm of independence in the 1960's, but the vibrations have largely been limited to tropical Africa. South of the Congo, in the Portuguese colonies, in the Union of South Africa and in Union-controlled South West, where Africans are denied even the most basic human rights, there is considerable ferment, but it is difficult to predict the outcome.

Nestled among Portuguese Angola, Bechuanaland, and the Union, South West Africa is the Achilles' heel of the Union of South Africa. South West is a veritable colony of the Union, held in a darkness hiding the struggle of the South West Africans to throw off their oppressors and strike out for independence. If South West can be wedged free of the Union it will be a giant step forward not only for the people living in this hell of suppression and exploitation, but for the people of the Union of South Africa itself. South West is the hope of the beginning of the end of apartheid.

Why does South West Africa today have this historic potential? South West, along with Tanganyika, the Cameroons, and Togoland, was a German colony that at the end of World War I became an international territory, a mandate of the League of Nations. But the League gave supervision of South West over to the Union of South Africa, whose racial policies Mohandas Gandhi had helped make known to the world twenty years earlier. In the terms of the mandate the Union was to "promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants of the territory." Instead, the Union systematically began a process of colonialization and exploitation directed toward helping the whites and subjecting the Africans. At the end of World War II, the League of Nations mandate system was transferred to the United Nations, and the procedure of U.N. trusteeships was established. But the Union government has steadfastly pursued its policy of annexing South West and has tried to throw doubt on the international status of the territory. In 1948 it was virtually incorporated as a fifth province of the Union, a maneuver based on the Nationalist Party's desire for the few thousand white votes in South West.

South West is larger than Texas, but holds only a little more than a half-million people, including 70,000 "Europeans" (of German origin and recently immigrated Afrikaners), 20,000 "coloreds," and 540,000 "natives." The Africans are divided among the three main tribes of Hereros, Namas in the South, and Ovambos in the North. Windhoek is the small, sprawling capital, a mile above sea level, with a population of 40,000, half European, half African. The wealth of the country lies in diamonds, minerals (large American investments), and Persian lamb.

In human terms, South West is a brutal story. Even the Union of South Africa seems "liberal" in comparison. The extension of apartheid into South West has intensified the policies of cruel exploitation and suppression that already existed. The Africans have long been relegated to locations and reserves, but the Union's encroachment on these lands has been steady and consistent. The cold-blooded extermination of a majority of the Herero people by the Germans before World War I appears a small calamity in the light of the savage oppression under Union "supervision."

A considerable part of South West is dry, arid, undeveloped land, where droughts are frequent and severe. Most of the best land has been taken by the Europeans. White expansion has followed a cycle of land seizure, pushing the Africans further back into the famous Kalahari desert, onto marginal land, letting them spend years developing it, and then pushing them off again onto more waste land. A contract labor system guarantees cheap labor for the Europeans and is the major source of employment for the Africans. Wages vary from a few dollars to twenty dollars a month in the city. But Africans have no rights under the system. Whenever the supply of labor is less than the demand, there is a rise in arbitrary arrests of Africans for minor violations—such as not having the right pass; the prisoners are then "let out" to the highest bidders as "laborers."

The conditions of life for Africans are difficult for a Westerner to comprehend: overwhelming poverty, substandard housing, disease, almost no education. Only one in three Africans ever gets to sit in a schoolroom. Though the Africans constitute more than eighty per cent of the population, seventy-nine per cent of government expenditures for education are for Europeans. Malaria, tuberculosis, and other diseases under control in most of the rest of the world are rife

SHERIDAN GRISWOLD is the pseudonym for an American observer who has watched the struggle of South West Africa before the United Nations at close range.

among Africans in South West. In contrast, the Europeans of South West enjoy the second or third highest living standards anywhere on earth.

It was an accident of history that moved Michael Scott to be the spokesman for the voiceless people of South West. In 1946 the Union staged a rigged "referendum" among the tribes of South West. On the basis of the results the Union's Prime Minister, Field Marshal Jan Christian Smuts, came to the United Nations to seek annexation of South West. Scott happened to be staying in Bechuanaland at the time and there he met Chief Hosea Kutako of the Herero people of South West. Since no South West African could leave the country—and none ever had—the Hereros asked Scott to bear to the United Nations for them their petition against annexation. For ten years Scott, since denied access to South West, continued to be almost the sole means by which the Herero people laid their case before the conscience of the world.

Scott's task was a difficult and lonely one. Because of an involvement with Communists in England during the depression of the Thirties, Scott has been an "unwelcome" representative of Chief Hosea Kutako, and the United States has restricted him to only parts of the island of Manhattan —ironically symbolic of how the Africans of South West are restricted to reserves and locations. Scott is a devout Anglican clergyman. To make his annual pilgrimage to the Cathedral of Saint John the Divine and the Cloisters—both in Manhattan—he has to request special permission from the U.S. government.

In 1956, after a decade of seemingly futile efforts on behalf of the people of South West—years during which the Union consolidated its position and continued a program of "white man's wealth, black man's burden"—Scott was dramatically joined by a young Herero petitioner. Mburumba Kerina had escaped from South West by representing himself as a "Cape colored," and in early 1953 had come to Lincoln University in Pennsylvania. He remained alone and silent, because he feared deportation from the United States.

By 1955 Kerina felt that the time had come to stand up and speak for his people. He tried to join Scott but ran into the impersonal bureaucracy of the United Nations, encountering difficulties in procedures and credentials. The Union of South Africa tried to discredit him through behind-the-scenes lobbying. Blocked at speaking formally, Kerina submitted a tape recording (an approach that United Nations protocol was not prepared for) which the members of the Committee on South West Africa listened to in an informal, closed session.

A true African leader, in his own right, was maturing. By 1956 Kerina was able to establish his credentials (hundreds of Hereros, Namas, and Ovambos signed petitions to the United Nations requesting that Kerina be permitted to speak for them), and he joined Scott as the first African petitioner from South West (and the first South West African ever to go beyond the Union, the first to get a bachelor of arts degree). Kerina was most eloquent in his appeal, which was the first opportunity for United Nations delegates to hear directly from someone who had lived under the Union's regime in South West. Kerina produced numerous photographs smuggled out of the territory to support his description of the subhuman conditions under which his people were forced to live.

In 1956 Kerina and Scott faced the same frustrations, with a United Nations unable or unwilling to act, boldly, to declare and guarantee the conditions of the League mandate or a trusteeship, which the Union has refused to accept.

In 1957, all that was done by the United Nations was to recommend a "Good Offices Commission" that returned the following year suggesting the partition of South West, a proposal rejected by both the Union government and by the people of South West through their petitioners, Kerina and Scott. The Union government has consistently claimed that South West is an internal affair and that the conditions of the people in South West are not a matter for consideration by the United Nations. The people of South West, living in abject poverty, would welcome the assistance of UNESCO, UNICEF, WHO, and the other United Nations agencies, but the United Nations is powerless to move unless invited by the official government. And in South West, what truly is the "official" government?

The Union government has denied South West Africans passports, while permitting Europeans to travel. In 1957 Jariretundu Kozonguizi, the only other African from South West to have a college degree, was offered a scholarship for graduate study in England, but was refused a passport. In 1959 he escaped by foot from South West. Kozonguizi has testified four times before the United Nations. He is a convincing representative of his proud people. Both Kerina and Kozonguizi have in the last two years joined the ranks of other African leaders at the various Pan-African conferences. The Pan-African movement is most sensitive to white domination wherever it is perpetuated in Africa. The problem of South West is now seen as an African problem, and the Pan-Africanists will not rest until South West is free.

In the last year the Union has been intensifying its encroachment on the rights of Africans in South West. The whites have set out to seize still more African land on the dwindling reservations and to take the land and homes of the Africans in the cities, moving the Africans to new locations (where they are also divided along tribal lines). This growing repression has brought united resistance from the Africans. Out of the grass roots new leaders have emerged, ready to meet the challenge. The first political organizations on the part of Africans in South West have been formed: the South West Africa People's Organization, and the South West African National Union.

What were the new acts on the part of the Union government that finally gave birth to political organizations dedicated to independence? Two examples show the form of oppression.

The Hoachanas Reserve was origi-

nally 50,000 hectares. Before World War II it was fenced down to 14,000 hectares for the Nama people living there; the other 36,000 hectares were given to three white farmers from the Union. Now the Europeans want the rest of the reserve. In January, 1959, Reverend Markus Kooper, the leader of the local African Methodist Episcopalian Church, was forcibly removed by twenty-eight policemen, following the machine-gunning of his weaponless people who had surrounded his house to protect him. He and his family were taken 150 miles into the Itsawisis Desert, where they were dumped. The rest of the people of the reserve followed.

In Windhoek, the capital, officials are attempting to remove 20,000 African residents to a new area, Katatura, miles away, so the city land will be available for new homes for whites. On Human Rights Day, December 10, 1959, a crowd gathered non-violently in Windhoek to protest the move to the new location. The police fired into the crowd at random. Twelve Africans were killed, including Mburumba Kerina's brother, and thirty-two were injured.

Since these developments, the Union administration has been ruthlessly isolating and deporting the new leaders they have been able to find. A "concentration camp" has been created near Sandfontein, at the border of Bechuanaland, as part of a government drive to crush the new people's organizations. In recent months more than twenty Africans have escaped from South West, among them Markus Kooper, who spoke with humility and passion of his experiences to the United Nations in November, 1960. An underground railroad has been established with Tanganyika as the northern haven. Escaping has consisted mainly of walking at night across borders: Angola, Bechuanaland, Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, and even the Congo before the independence turmoil broke out there.

The situation in South West may seem hopeless, but the people of South West have not given up hope. They have yet to resort to violence, although daily they are violated in every conceivable way. They still ask, as they have for the past fifteen years, that the world community assume its responsibility for South West Africa, and assure that the territory is placed

under United Nations trusteeship. This, they believe, is the necessary first step toward independence. On November 4, Ethiopia and Liberia, acting in accordance with a decision made at a conference on Independent African States held in Addis Ababa in June, placed the issue of South West Africa before the International Court of Justice at the Hague, where hearings will begin April 15. The complaint charges the Union of South Africa with having violated the terms of the mandate under which it has been "supervising" the territory. A list of abuses is detailed, documenting the grim history of forty years of oppression. It is hoped that this long-contemplated recourse to compulsory jurisdiction will force the Union to relax its policy of enforcing apartheid in South West and turn the country over to the United Nations for administration.

Ernest Gross, Assistant Secretary of State and a United States delegate to the United Nations under President Truman, has taken the job of legal representative for Liberia and Ethiopia at the International Court of Justice. Since the case may drag on before the International Court for a number of years, the petitioners from South West Africa are quick to point out that legal action and political action are not mutually exclusive. They emphasize that if the decision of the International Court is favorable to South West Africa, political action will be necessary to enforce it. Gross has indicated that there is a clause in the United Nations Charter that gives the Security Council the power to take *whatever means it deems necessary* to enforce a decision of the International Court. This power of the United Nations has never been used. Its ultimate meaning is that the United Nations is legally entitled to resort to police action if the decisions of the International Court are flouted.

On November 14, the Fourth Committee of the United Nations began its hearings on South West Africa. The Union of South Africa's Minister for External Affairs, Eric H. Louw, tried to get the Committee to postpone consideration of South West Africa on the grounds that any discussion would tend to prejudice the International Court. The gallery laughed when he cast a lone vote for his resolution. On following days the United Nations heard from the South West petitioners.

After extended discussion and debate, several draft resolutions were presented to the General Assembly and were considered on December 18, 1960. Some of these resolutions confirm the progress made at the United Nations on South West Africa after fifteen long years and also give evidence of the difficulties that lie ahead. Of the ninety-nine delegations at the United Nations, only seven (including the Union of South Africa) were absent. A resolution calling on the Union of South Africa to seek the assistance of the United Nations specialized agencies was passed unanimously. UNICEF, UNESCO, WHO, FAO are encouraged to "undertake urgent programs to assist the indigenous population of South West Africa in economic, educational, social, and health fields."

Another resolution urged the government of the Union of South Africa to cease the arbitrary imprisonment and deportation of Africans, including the leaders and members of the South West African Peoples Organization, and to ensure the free exercise of political rights and the freedom of expression by all sectors of the population. The Assembly adopted this

resolution by a vote of eighty-four to none, with seven abstentions.

A third resolution recognized that the dispute with the Union of South Africa relating to the interpretation and application of the League of Nations mandate of December, 1920, had not been and could not be settled by negotiation. The Assembly commended the initiative of Ethiopia and Liberia in instituting contentious proceedings against the Union of South Africa in the International Court of Justice. This resolution was endorsed by eighty-six to none, with six abstentions. In line with a shift in policy on South West Africa in the past year, the United States voted for these three resolutions. The abstentions have consistently come from the old colonial powers—Netherlands, Britain, France, Belgium, and Portugal, joined at times by a few of the commonwealth countries, mainly Australia.

On the next two resolutions the United States joined the colonial powers in abstaining. This was a serious setback for the United States in its relations with the new African nations. The United States action is related to its abstention December 15 on the resolution for colonial freedom, which at the time was dramatically disavowed by Senator Wayne Morse and Mrs. Zelma Watson George, of the United States delegation to the United Nations, who stood and applauded with the Asian and African delegations after the resolution had passed.

What was the nature of the two resolutions on South West to cause the United States to abstain?

The first called for the prosecution and punishment of those responsible for the death of Africans on the night of December 10, 1959, in the Windhoek "Native" Location. This resolution was adopted by a vote of eighty-three in favor, none against, with seven abstentions—the colonial powers and the United States.

The last resolution asked the Assembly to "regret" South Africa's failure to revise its repressive policies in South West; to "deplore and disapprove" these policies; to "deprecate" the application of apartheid in South West; to invite the Committee on South West Africa to go to South West and investigate the situation; and to ask the Union and the Secretary General to aid in facilitating an early report. The result of a roll-call vote was seventy-eight for, none against, with fifteen abstentions, including the United States.

On all these resolutions on South West Africa an abstention is tantamount to a negative vote. Since having to abstain on this vote Senator Morse has indicated his personal rejection of the United States position. He abstained only on orders from the State Department. These orders came directly from President Eisenhower following a call to the President from Britain's Prime Minister Harold Macmillan.

To Morse, abstaining meant voting against what was practically his own proposal, because in the Fourth Committee he had raised certain questions concerning a preliminary draft resolution, and the African nations had complied with his criticisms in the rewriting of this last resolution. "I hope," said Morse, "that this is the last session of the General Assembly with the United States on the wrong side of the vote." He added that in the next session of Congress he was going to see what he could do to help "change the course of American policy in this whole field of human rights. . . . The South West Africa problem is symbolic of great foreign policy problems . . . we [the United States] must free ourselves from the colonial powers of the world and recognize that the only wealth we have is human wealth, the only values, human. Colonialism is a dying policy; we must not postpone its death pangs."

In terms of the future of South West Africa, the last resolution is one of the most important to come out of the United Nations in fifteen years. Coupled with the case at the International Court it makes 1961 a year to watch South West Africa. It is expected that the Union government will grant visas to the representatives of the Committee on South West Africa when they seek admission to the territory. The 1961 members of the Committee on South West Africa are Brazil, Denmark, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Indonesia, Ireland, Philippines, United Arab Republic, and Uruguay. Ireland is not expected to be asked by the other members of the Committee to send a representative because Ireland abstained in the vote on this last resolution. Any representatives that go to South West will probably be harassed in a number of ways—shown only certain areas, denied access to certain persons, and the like. Still, it will be the first time the Committee has been allowed inside South West to observe conditions.

For forty years South West Africa has been lost to the world, forgotten. Now that the majority of African states are free, they will not rest until all of Africa is free.

Today, the young leaders of South West Africa, most of them still in their twenties, have gained maturity and world stature. Michael Scott's solitary voice, appealing to the conscience of the world for ten years, has been joined by Mburumba Kerina, Jariretundu Kozonguizi, Jakob Kuhangua, Sam Nujoma, Markus Kooper, and others. They have accepted isolation and exile from their homeland in order to bear witness to the struggle for freedom that their people are embarking on, a freedom that we all too easily take for granted. In the pleas of these petitioners is echoed the prayer that Chief Hosea Kutako uttered when Michael Scott left South West Africa in 1946 to come to the United Nations:

> "You are the great God of all the earth and heaven. We are so insignificant. In us there are many defects. But the power is yours to make and do what we cannot do. You know all about us. For coming down to earth you were despised and mocked, and brutally treated because of those same defects in men of those days. And for those men you prayed because they did not understand what they were doing, and that you came only for what is right. Give us the courage to struggle in that way for what is right. O Lord, help us who roam about. Help us who have been placed in Africa and have no dwelling place of our own. Give us back a dwelling place. O God all power is yours in heaven and earth. Amen."

Chief Hosea Kutako is still praying —and waiting.

The High Cost of Dying

by RUTH MULVEY HARMER

DURING RECENT years there has been much vigorous protest against the high—and rising—cost of living. Yet little has been said—publicly, at any rate—about the even higher and more rapidly rising cost of dying, a cost which has more than tripled in one generation. The common attitude has been that to draw a relationship between funerals and finances is neither relevant nor proper: the right sort of person simply doesn't consider money at a time like that.

As a consequence, the cost of a funeral has become one of the most crushing expenses facing American families today. The average price per death in 1959 was $907.83, according to the Department of Commerce estimate that $1.5 billion was spent on burials in the nation last year. In urban areas, the cost is considerably higher. For example, the funerals of the 51,549 persons who died in Los Angeles County last year averaged $1,100 each. Yet it has been demonstrated there, as elsewhere, that by planning rationally and cooperatively, simple, dignified funerals can cost as little as $100 to $150.

Steadily rising funeral prices partly reflect the unique economic nature of the undertaking industry; more extensively they reflect a remarkably successful public relations program that has redefined the ancient concept of respect for the dead to emphasize extravagant display. "It is the task of those in the funeral profession," says the *Psychology of Funeral Service* (a trade manual) "to educate the public in the right paths."

The "education" has been so successful in equating lavish funerals with religious devotion, family loyalty, and true-blue Americanism that it has done mortal injury to such cherished economic theories as the law of supply and demand. Unlike other industries, the funeral industry is confronted with a limited market. Under ordinary economic circumstances, marginal operators would simply be eliminated, but not in the funeral industry. During the last fifty years of dramatically declining death rate, the number of undertakers has increased with frivolous disregard for the need. So many are now operating that the average number of funerals that could be allotted to each is fewer than sixty a year. Yet since some establishments count their "cases" by the hundreds, the less flourishing must make a living on only the twelve or twenty funerals they handle.

As a result competition among undertakers is fierce—at times ludicrously so: a North Carolina undertaker recently offered trading stamps to purchasers of caskets and cerements. Overt competition has been discouraged by trade associations. *Mortuary Management*, a powerful trade journal, recently warned its subscribers:

> "You do not have competitors. You and the others in your profession are 'we.' You know that you have competitors. I know that you have competitors. But the public would hate to think there was rivalry over the dead."

Competition in the funeral trade has not provided consumer benefits in the form of lower prices or better quality, largely because there are few persons who would not be repelled by the notion of bargaining over the body of a friend or relative; when a death occurs in a family, almost no one sets out on a shopping expedition for the cheapest funeral. That attitude has been carefully cultivated by undertaking establishments—all the way from pet cemeteries to Los Angeles' Forest Lawn, three hundred preposterous acres of trees, ponds, wedding chapels, statues, paintings, and bodies: a California tourist attraction outranked only by Disneyland.

As a result of clever public relations, undertakers have gained social respectability and have even been endowed by many with a semi-clerical status. As they have climbed the rungs from undertaker to mortician to funeral director, and as their once modest "parlors" have been transformed into sanctified country clubs, they have assumed the prerogatives of professional man and pastor. Blandly disregarding that they are tradesmen selling caskets, vaults, and other merchandise and services, undertakers have advanced by minimizing such mundane considerations as dollars and cents and concentrating on pride and respect and—cruelly—feelings of guilt.

Some clergymen have given their blessing to such exploitation. A few years ago, a reporter for a national magazine said that he had been told by a Milwaukee pastor that the cleric had encouraged—over an undertaker's mild protest—the daughter of a deceased parishioner to go ahead with her plan for a lavish funeral. "My reason was this," the pastor stated. "I knew the daughter felt she had neglected her mother. The expensive funeral did a lot to relieve her sense of guilt."

Some of the clergy, apparently pleased to have help with some of the more difficult pastoral chores, have permitted undertakers more and more latitude, from choosing the music (usually not hymns, which are considered "too depressing") to receiving and ushering friends at the service and condoling and counseling with families before and after the service. Today, however, many clergymen are beginning to express misgiv-

RUTH MULVEY HARMER is a free lance writer who recently completed a special investigation of the policies and practices of the funeral parlor industry.

ings; many others, of course, have always opposed the "pagan spectacles."

In Ottawa recently, Roman Catholic Archbishop Sebastian Baggio, Apostolic Delegate to Canada, in a letter to the Funeral Directors Association, stated in forceful language that because "the cost of dying is getting out of all proportion, it might be well for the Association to make an 'agonizing reappraisal' not only of price structures but also of pagan customs and trappings that have crept into the industry."

Furthermore, the Archbishop continued, ". . . contemporary English distinguishes between that which is inexpensive and that which is cheap, in the sense of being vulgar . . . There is no loss in dignity because of poverty. Thus for a poor man to choose an inexpensive funeral (if and when such is available) for a loved one, is eminently dignified, for it is in keeping with faith, reason, and common sense.

"When a poor man attempts to make a lavish display—with all the modern trappings of questionable taste—that is obviously beyond his means, it is then that he suffers a loss of dignity and has put on an expensive show that has been cheap and vulgar."

According to a recent survey made by Dr. Robert L. Fulton for the National Funeral Directors Association, fifty-one per cent of Protestant clergymen and forty-one per cent of Roman Catholic clerics are of the opinion that undertakers exploit bereaved families at least part of the time. The industry struck back in an editorial comment in *Casket and Sunnyside,* conceding that the minister has "every right to be consulted on the time of the funeral, and that he might have some say about other details, but that the price of the service is not his prerogative and he should not go into the selection room."

Since the price of the casket determines to a great extent the price of the funeral, it is in the selection room that the undertaker most noticeably demonstrates himself a salesman. How profitable a sale can be was brought to public attention in 1947 at at a Senate Committee hearing when W. W. Chambers, the owner of four large mortuaries in the nation's capital, testified with disarming frankness that "a $30 casket is generally sold today for $150." Explaining why he had left his job in a livery stable to become an undertaker, Chambers said: "What appealed to me mostly was when I saw one of them [undertakers] buy a casket for $17 and sell it to a poor broken widow for $265. I said, 'This is awful sweet, I can't let this go.' "

In spite of their claim to more-than-businessman status, undertakers have proven themselves shrewd entrepreneurs. Aided by public determination to avoid "unpleasant" talk about death and by successful lobbying in state capitals, practitioners of the burial trade are generally free from all controls except what compassion they possess and the pledge some take to abide by the code of ethics of the trade association. Although the code of ethics prohibits any price advertising, "bait" advertising is common. As it was defined by the New York State attorney general in December, 1954:

> "He [the undertaker] sets up a low and extremely attractive price for a complete funeral which is merely the lure for the unwary public at a time of deep grief. When the bereaved person visited the undertaker's establishment, the undertaker disparages the advertised offering and plays upon the emotions of the family in order to palm off more expensive goods and services."

Once the undertaker has possession of the body, it is not likely that the family will resist whatever price is set on a casket. The suave manners are often replaced by the "hard sell" when a family insists on the advertised price: "Do you want to put your mother in an orange crate?"

Selling funerals out of proportion to the family's way of life is also a frequent abuse. In 1950, the United Auto Workers made a study of Ford Motor Company pensioners who died during the year and found that while average life insurance benefits were only $1,300, average funeral expenses were more than $800. The business agent of a Los Angeles union recently announced that he would no longer provide undertakers with information about deceased members' insurance policies. He had learned that instead of using the information to keep costs within reasonable limits, undertakers had been charging up to the amount of the total benefits.

In 1954, the attorney general of New York State charged that some low-income families were forced to pay the last cent of the dead person's insurance policy for a funeral service that normally cost half as much. Some undertakers were charged with "padding" funeral bills after determining what the savings accounts contained. Perhaps the most shocking instance of merciless price gouging brought to public notice occurred in 1947 in Illinois, when 111 miners in Centralia died in a coal mine disaster. Some local undertakers charged widows as much as $1,178.50 for funerals. Charges for identical services and caskets are said to have varied by several hundreds of dollars, depending on the size of the amount credited to the dead miner in the form of union welfare death benefits and state compensation.

Perhaps not the least important reason that protest against inflation in funerals has been minimal is that the chief victims are persons with relatively low incomes—a notably inarticulate group. Of course, other income groups are also affected, as may be inferred from advertisements on Los Angeles buses announcing "complete services" for $95 to $4,800. Nevertheless, a person who can pay $19,000 for a casket with "Ever-Seal air, watertight construction, and Ever-Rite adjustable bed, all in a zestful champagne finish, with a semi-tailored interior of gold-tone, Savoy crepe" is less liable to post-burial suffering than is the widow of a union member who is charged total insurance benefits.

Depressing as the situation is, it is not incapable of solution. The idea that the burial industry is a public utility and should be operated or regulated by the state has been accepted in Europe for years. Prices and sales are regulated in England; in France, any of several funerals at varying prices may be purchased from the local governments or from private undertakers who have government contracts. In Switzerland, every citizen is entitled to a free state funeral. The Scandinavian countries exercise strict control over burials.

In the United States, there has not

been, nor is there likely to be, an attempt on a national level to control prices and practices. Nor does it seem likely that local governments will take over, although they have demonstrated that they themselves are models of economy. Among the 51,549 persons buried last year in Los Angeles County at an average cost of $1,100 were 1,253 "county burials." At the request of survivors, 872 of them were cremated at a cost of $15, plus $11.89 for preparation of the body and $3.28 for its transportation. For another 381, the county arranged burial in $19.41 coffins and $30 graves.

For most people in the United States, the best and most acceptable solution would seem to be an expansion of the memorial associations that have been organized by church groups, unions, and members of consumer cooperatives. Although the plans vary in detail, all are based on pre-death arrangement for funeral and burial. The rapid growth of such associations on the West Coast during recent years suggests a developing concern about adequate protection against exploitation during a period of defenselessness.

The oldest and most successful of these organizations is the People's Memorial Association in Seattle, which originated in 1939 when the minister of the Church of the People and several members of his congregation determined to find a "better tribute to a departed loved one than the ostentatious, emotional funerals available." The non-profit organization that was formed after a neighboring Unitarian Church joined forces now has a membership of more than 3,000 families in Seattle and in seventy-eight nearby communities. Cost of membership is $3 for each adult, and the plan provides for cremation at $100, simple memorial services if desired, and burial when that is preferred. A cremation fund deposit plan has been arranged with a credit union so that members are able to free survivors of that financial responsibility.

In 1951, Mrs. Londa S. Fletcher of Palo Alto, California, who had been revolted by the "mock mourning of the undertakers" at a family funeral, was authorized by her Quaker group to find out what could be done to obtain a simple, dignified funeral. The calls she made on local undertakers were enlightening, if not encouraging. "We have no minimum price," was the almost universal reply, in more than one case supplemented frankly with such statements as: "We know the members of your group are generally able to have a good funeral, and we think they should," or, "We don't like your people's funerals; what we like are the Portuguese and the Spanish." Mrs. Fletcher persisted, and in 1952 the Peninsula Funeral Society was incorporated as a non-profit, nondenominational organization. At present, about one thousand member families are covered by contracts with several of the area's undertakers which provide simple funerals for as little as $150.

In 1954, the Berkeley Consumer Cooperative Society appointed a funeral research committee headed by Josiah Bartlett, Jr., dean of the Starr King School of the Ministry. After an investigation of funeral costs in Alameda County, where a random sampling of probated estates showed the average cost to be more than $950, the East Bay Memorial Association was incorporated and is now providing almost 3,000 member families with simple, rational funerals for a modest sum. One member reported that eight months before he joined the association he arranged for the burial of his mother through a local mortuary; a year after he joined, the association arranged the burial when his father died. The mortuary services, he said, were inferior to the services received through the association. The cost of his mother's funeral was $800 in contrast to the $150 charged for that of his father.

Since then, Hollywood, San Diego, and Sacramento have organized similar groups, and another is being formed in Oregon. Existing organizations have formed a West Coast Federation, and member organizations are now affiliated with similar groups in Philadelphia, Montreal, Cleveland, Ottawa, Chicago, Toronto, and several other cities.

Since the success of the plan depends on finding cooperative undertakers, difficulties arise in organizing such associations. In Seattle, an understanding undertaker, who still works with the group, was found early. In Los Angeles, on the other hand, members of the organizing committee spent several months before they found the two undertakers with whom the group concluded contracts. Many of the undertakers were frankly afraid of trade association reprisals if they signed contracts. In the Middle West, a number of cooperative groups were forced to acquire and maintain their own undertaking establishments after undertakers in the area had been threatened and some who had worked with cooperative groups had had supplies withheld. A funeral cooperative in Minnesota built its own $20,000 chapel several years ago.

Archbishop Baggio, commenting on the resistance by undertakers to lower prices and simplified funerals, warned that "the alternative may well be that Christian communities, in their dissatisfaction, will set up cooperatives to operate according to the dictates of Christian conscience and to their means."

Like other California groups, the East Bay Memorial Association requires a modest enrollment fee (the only charge imposed) of ten dollars a family. Membership fees in some associations are even lower. On becoming a member, each person selects a funeral from several available types and indicates his wishes about burial or cremation, music, flowers, type of memorial service, and other funeral details. One copy of the instructions is kept by the member; one is sent to the member's clergyman—if any; a third is kept on file by the association. When death occurs, there is no need to make decisions; the undertakers working with the group simply follow instructions.

Undoubtedly, the substitution of a rational funeral for the lavish displays born of a frenzy of grief, guilt, fear, and pride will require, as a California clergyman said, "a long, patient process of re-education." But concern for funeral reform is growing, and there is hope that the barbaric shows for the dead may be abolished in the interests of the living.

Triumph after Death for Modigliani

by ALFRED WERNER

THE first large Modigliani show in New England—it opened at the end of January in Boston's Museum of Fine Arts and will be exhibited later in Los Angeles—recalls a double tragedy that shook the artist quarter of Montparnasse forty-one years ago.

On January 25, 1920, Leopold Zborowski, a Polish art dealer, brought a doctor to the unheated, miserable apartment where Modigliani lived with his common-law wife, shy Jeanne Hebuterne. After examining the painter's lean, feverish body, the doctor telephoned for an ambulance. A few hours later, at the *Hopital de la Charite,* Modigliani died—of alcohol, drugs, consumption. Summoned to the hospital, Jeanne, who was expecting a second child, was insane with grief. She was taken to her parents' home. In the middle of the night, she threw herself from the window of her fifth-floor room. Workers found her broken body on the street.

In their last days, the young couple had lived on a diet that consisted largely of sardines. Yet forty years later, early in 1960, one of Modigliani's large paintings was sold to a private collector for $175,000. During the artist's lifetime, his oils sold for the equivalent of twenty-five to thirty dollars—and there were few sales. After he died, the prices immediately doubled and trebled. The art world soon became aware of the loss it had suffered by Modigliani's premature death. What he stands for in the story of modern art was summed up most succinctly by his necrologist, the French poet, Francis Carco:

"A life marked by poverty, worry, the desire to escape platitudes, by contradictions, by the wish to surpass, by thirst for punishment and the willingness to become a target for the supposedly astute. Life of an artist, life of exaltations! I shall not recount the picturesque Bohemianisms of it nor the paradoxical and perpetual defiance of rule, nor the absence of all traces of domesticity. But for all that, defects and qualities, taste for unhappiness and the exceptional, the torrent of graces, the deliriousness and naughtiness, Modigliani leaves a void behind him that cannot soon be filled."

Amedeo Modigliani was born in Leghorn, Italy, July 12, 1884, the son of a bankrupt businessman. Flaminio Modigliani and his wife, conservative middle class Jews, already had three children—Emmanuele (who was to become an eminent Socialist leader and foe of Mussolini), Margherita, and Umberto. The mother was well-educated and assisted her husband economically with literary hackwork. Amedeo received a classical education in the first four grades of the local high school; he also read a good deal, and from 1898 to 1900 he studied with the best art teacher in Leghorn, a painter named Guglielmo Micheli. Tuberculosis forced him to break off his studies. He was treated at the local clinic, but no effective cure for the disease had been developed. Nor did the sunshine of Southern Italy, where Signora Modigliani sent her son, effect a complete recovery. (Two decades later, when he was in his mid-thirties, dissipation, fatigue, and malnutrition brought on a fatal return of the illness.)

For several years young Modigliani roamed Italy, admiring the work of the great Renaissance masters in the museums and cathedrals, and studying intermittently at the art academies of Florence and Venice. Little of the work he did prior to his departure for Paris in 1905 or 1906 has become known, and all of it is in the academic tradition.

After he arrived in Paris, Modigliani felt that a mere geographical move was not enough—that an inner break with his past was necessary. It took the modest, sober, shy bourgeois boy a full year to change into the Modigliani who was to become the subject of many anecdotes and legends. One day a friend found Modigliani's *atelier* completely changed. It was in chaos. The Renaissance reproductions that had hung on the walls had been stuffed away into a box. The studio's occupant himself had become an alcoholic and drug addict. Far more important, he had also suddenly become a revolutionary in the realm of art. We do not know precisely what caused this sudden transformation from bourgeois into a *"peintre maudit"* (cursed painter), nor are we sure of the exact moment — if there were one — at which it took place. Andre Salmon, the critic and poet, insists in his recent memoir of Modigliani that the painter's vices were directly responsible for his talent:

"From the day he abandoned himself to certain forms of debauchery an unexpected light came upon him, transforming his art. From that day on he became one who must be counted among the masters of living art."

Another witness, a minor painter who was the husband of Suzanne Valadon and stepfather of Utrillo, even claimed to know the very day on which Modigliani's metamorphosis as an artist, if not as a man, took place: "One night, at an alcohol and hashish orgy *chez* Pigard . . . Modigliani suddenly gave a yell and, grab-

ALFRED WERNER, noted art critic, has written and lectured widely in the United States and Europe. His articles on art have appeared in a number of publications, including Commentary, The American Scholar, Chicago Jewish Forum, and the New York Post.

bing paper and pencil, began to draw feverishly, shouting that he had found 'the way.' When he had finished he triumphantly produced a study of a woman's head and the swan neck for which he has become famous."

There is, of course, no medical reason for suggesting that either alcohol or hashish made Modigliani "invent" the characteristic features of his mature style. But alcohol and drugs did help release the timid young man, who lacked love, friendship, and guidance, from his inhibitions so that he could proceed more rapidly toward that freedom from academic fetters he yearned for. Because he wanted to be free to "distort"—that is, force his own artistic vision upon reality—he decided, apparently, that he had to live the life that would, as he saw it, guarantee him the maximum of freedom. Alcohol, hashish, and sexual promiscuity were his means of liberating himself from his native Leghorn and all it stood for.

There are many who enter "Bohemia" to live uncontrolled, carefree lives, and merely pretend that they are artists. By contrast, Modigliani worked hard—nearly five hundred paintings, more than twenty sculptures, and thousands of watercolors and drawings are extant—although he indulged in what we might call unlimited exuberance simply because his rhythm of living was altogether different from that of other citizens. In a novel, the writer Michel Georges-Michel makes Modigliani reply to a doctor who reproaches him for too much drinking:

"I need a flame in order to paint, in order to be consumed by fire. My concierge and the butcher boy have no need of alcohol, especially if it does them harm. They must conserve their precious lives . . . But as for me, my life, it is important only because of what I put on my canvas . . . So what difference does it make if I give an instant of my life, if in exchange I can create a work that, perhaps, will last?"

Modigliani managed to produce hundreds of works that are of lasting value. Many of them have become so popular, largely through reproductions, that many laymen quickly recognize his elegant and subtle portraits of Montmartre and Montparnasse characters, as well as his lush yet somewhat virginal nudes. But it is not for its mannerisms that his art has become immortal; the important thing is that Modigliani created formal and universal beauty in perpetuating the essentials of a face or body.

It took the critics many years to decide that they liked this strange man's strange art. Disturbed by their inability to pin him down in terms of a school, they resorted to calling him an eclectic. This term is hardly applicable; although, like every good artist, he was both an innovator and a traditionalist. Modigliani learned a great deal from such French masters as Toulouse-Lautrec and Gauguin, who had died only a few years before the Italian first set foot in Paris. He was a great admirer of Cezanne, whose bold distortions he emulated. He was particularly fond of the Sunday painter, Henri Rousseau, who was still alive in 1906. Rousseau's directness of approach, simplicity, and economy of means are mirrored in the best of Modigliani's own work. He shared with others the then (1906-10) current excitement about African Negro sculpture. He had a wooden Negro mask hanging in his studio, and when he tried his hand at sculpture, he worked in the style of that anonymous Negro master whose simplified, "abstract" manner was the delight of this anti-naturalist.

But his real masters were the great Italian "primitives" of Tuscany whom he had admired in his youth, and to whom he must have turned again during his eight-months stay in Italy in 1912. As a "Pre-Raphaelite" *sui generis,* he went further away from Raphael than Dante Gabriele Rossetti, namely, to the era of Bonaventura Berlinghieri. From the latter and his disciples Modigliani learned that one may take amazing liberties with one's line, distorting it so as to step up the dramatic intensity of expression, to bring out the inner tensions, to carry emotion to a high pitch.

There is not much variety in Modigliani's work. He painted chiefly single figures seated in interiors (there are also a few groups of two). There are a number of studies of the female nude, but there are no still-lifes, and only three or four not very important landscapes. There are portraits of famous fellow-artists and writers. His sitters also included the *filles de joie* who were common sights in Montmartre and Montparnasse. Toulouse-Lautrec had painted these types only a few years before him, but while the crippled aristocrat had enjoyed showing them in all their stark degeneracy, with foul looks and wasted bodies, Modigliani, who was basically kind and warm-hearted, "improved" them on canvas. They are not pretty in the ordinary sense of the word, but they evoke our pity.

One might say that Modigliani painted his friends as if he had caught them in a moment of utter fatigue, sitting in a chair alone, devoid of false glamour and artificial gaiety. All their energy has been

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pumped out; their hands on their laps dangle limply. They look somewhat alike, not because Modigliani was unable to accentuate their characters (he did, in a subtle way), but because Montmartre, or Montparnasse, was their character. Hence those pensive masks, inclined slightly left or right, those two slits, green, pale blue, or black, through which they look at us listlessly, as though staring from another world.

Four decades ago, nobody wanted his work. Today, museum-goers all over the world admire his well-balanced portraits (almond-shaped ovoids connected by a cylindrical neck to the larger ovoids formed by the upper bodies with their rounded shoulders). Today, everybody loves his virginal nudes—broad planes of vivid ochre, orange, burnt sienna brown, and earthy hues sharply surrounded by strong, unbroken lines. Everybody gazes in fascination at the pictures' pellucid, iridescent tones which are reminiscent of Old Masters, and which Modigliani achieved by covering his thin colors with many layers of varnish. By now viewers, thanks to him, are familiar with the entire gallery of Latin quarter faces that passed through Paris forty-odd years ago.

Of all the frustrations suffered by Modigliani throughout his career, perhaps the worst was caused by his inability to work consistently in sculpture, the field for which he considered himself far better suited than for painting. He regarded himself as primarily a sculptor who was forced by poverty and poor health to concentrate on painting. He never had money to buy the necessary stones; he had to help himself to the material wherever he saw new buildings go up. When a doctor had forbidden him to work in stone, because of the dangerous dust that aggravated his severe tubercular condition, the artist turned to wood as a medium: it was easier to carry, it was softer than stone, and there were no fine particles chipped off by his tools to irritate his throat and lungs. Again there was the problem of getting materials. He solved it by raiding at night the sheds near a *Metro* station under construction; with the aid of a friend, he stole the oak sleepers. Unfortunately, none of his wood sculptures has survived.

The twenty-odd pieces of stone sculpture that have been definitely identified undoubtedly constitute only a small fraction of his output. They are chiseled out of limestone and range in height from heads of twenty inches high or fewer, to a standing figure of sixty-three inches. While they are influenced by African Negro art, there are as many differences as there are similarities. The faces are rectangular, the mouths narrow short slits, the noses long and flat, joined in one line with the eyelids. But the mouth by Modigliani is put close under the nose and is slightly twisted upward, whereas the African craftsman would put the mouth down near the bottom of the chin. Modigliani's three-dimensional works are generally serene and lovely.

In his foreword to the exhibition catalogue, William S. Lieberman, of New York's Museum of Modern Art (which owns three Modigliani oils, two sculptures, and several drawings), quotes from a significant letter the art student Amedeo wrote to a slightly older colleague. At seventeen Modigliani firmly believed that the artist was a superior being:

"We have rights denied to others, because our own needs are different and place us—this we must say and believe—above their moral code . . . Your real duty is to save your dream. Beauty also demands some painful duties; these, however, create the most beautiful efforts of the soul . . . You must hold sacred all that might exalt and excite your intelligence. Try to provide and multiply all such stimuli, because these alone can drive our brain to its utmost creative power. For them we must fight. Yet can they be encompassed by the circle of narrow mortals?"

Nineteen years later, when the artist died in a charity hospital, he still held firmly to this proud belief.

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THE PEOPLE'S FORUM

The Professors Ride Again

The Editors of The Progressive *sent advance proof of the editorial note in the February issue, "The Professors Ride Again," to a group of distinguished educators and to Norman Thomas, veteran of countless struggles for social justice. Their comments appear below.*—THE EDITORS.

Dear Sirs:

The fact that it was necessary for you to invite my comment on your editorial, "The Professors Ride Again," rather than for me to grab my pen immediately upon reading your words (as some University of Wisconsin presidents of the past might have done) is evidence, in itself, I suppose, of what you have chosen to believe is the stilling of the "voice of crusading idealism . . . on most of our campuses."

I am inclined to believe that we have learned that there are more ways of leading a horse to water than beating him over the head, though we still have not solved completely the problem of making him drink.

Or—to change the figure slightly and cover another point—the growing technology and wealth of our nation have caused a shortage of windmills at which to tilt.

It would seem quite unnecessary today, for example, for a Harvard professor to sign a petition urging upon the government some reform. A more effective method would be for him to telephone one of his dozen or so policy-making colleagues in Washington and make his suggestion. A professor at another institution, not as well represented in Washington, is more inclined today to write a book detailing his suggestion, backing it with data, precedent, and example—for the type of leaders America has developed prefer to read and reason, and are not as likely to be swayed by ringing, emotional proclamations as they once were.

The problems that call for intellectual attention today are also more complex than they were when the petition, the protest committee, were in vogue. And, let it be said for today's professor, his well-modulated voice and well-reasoned opinions are heard more often in the testimony before legislatures and Congress than ever was the case in the dear dead days to which you hark.

Yes, the strident haranguing of the idealists is heard less and less, these days, but the idealism is as alive as ever. Increasingly seldom is the professor's view headlined (and ridiculed) in the press; more often it is incorporated in the laws of the land. I can appreciate your concern, as a journalist, for this change. As the middleman who processes and packages the professor's views for retailing to the people and to lawmakers, the journalist's business has fallen off. It is natural that he might presume that the supply has diminished. The fact is that our colleges and universities have become wholesale houses, dealing directly with the consumer.

C. A. ELVEHJEM
President
University of Wisconsin

Dear Sirs:

That the academic community during the last decade or so has been conspicuous by its conformity is hardly open to doubt. The significance of this fact and its causes are less clearly discernible.

First of all, it seems to me to be too simple to contrast the conformist professor of today with the "embattled crusaders, riding off to combat evil wherever it existed," of yore. This juxtaposition derives from an idealization of the past, at the very least not fully supported by historic evidence. For the academic crusaders have always been in a minority, frequently expelled from the academic community when their crusading zeal became either personally obnoxious or touched too sensitive a nerve connecting the academic community with the powers-that-be. It seems therefore more correct to say that the non-conformist minority, which used to give the academic community a bad name, has in recent times been absorbed into a subsociety which has become eminently respectable because its activities either tend to support the status quo or else are irrelevant to its interests.

The reasons for this decline of the vital critical function which at least some scholars have traditionally performed for society by letting truth speak to power, must be attributed primarily to two historic changes: one in the social context within which the scholar operates, the other in the nature of the vital issues with which society is confronted.

The scholar has become to an ever increasing extent a technician who serves the aims of society and therefore has lost awareness of his task to question those aims themselves. Furthermore, society offers the scholar inducements in the form of private and public employment and of academic advancement, whose cumulative effect is well-nigh irresistible. More particularly, big foundations, such as Ford, exert a conformist influence upon the academic community, of which many scholars are aware but which they dare mention only in whispers.

Yet even if the social context were conducive to the expression of radical dissent, the nature of the issues we are facing would make the formulation of such dissent extremely difficult. The great issues of our age are both remote from individual experience and difficult to understand and manipulate. There is a difference in kind between, say, the issue of the Yellow Dog Contract, and the issue of the supranational control of nuclear power. The former appeals to the individual's sense of justice and is susceptible to his understanding and manipulation; the latter is inaccessible to our direct moral judgment, comprehension, and manipulation and can be dealt with only in a sophisticated if not esoteric manner.

In this respect, the decline of the academic commitment to great issues is but a particular manifestation of a phenomenon which is characteristic of our over-all political and social life.

HANS J. MORGENTHAU
Department of Government
Harvard University

Dear Sirs:

I think *The Progressive* has a very good point that there has been an enormous suppression of free speech in the United States as a result of the McCarthy business. It is certainly encouraging, if it is true, that people are beginning to speak up again.

HAROLD C. UREY
Professor of Science and Engineering
University of California

Dear Sirs:

Of course the professor should interest himself in today's political and social issues—even when they do not fall within his special field. But shouldn't the professor do this in his role *as a citizen*? His concern with these questions *as a professor* is not always beneficial to the community; sometimes it may even misguide. For a professor may trade too easily on the public's acceptance of his authority and prestige as a professor to win support for views which he is not especially competent to express. If he wishes the public to accord his opinions greater weight than those of any other intelligent citizen, the professor should indicate that he has probed the issues with the same care and spirit of free inquiry that pervade his professional work.

Since the professors you praise took their stand *as historians*, it would be interesting to know why each of them thinks he is specially qualified, *as an historian*, to express opinions about arms control and the diplomatic recognition of Red China and East Germany. However, a careful reading of

their statement reveals that the historians did not commit themselves to anything. The statement, to which they lend the prestige of their academic positions, is mealy-mouthed. Undoubtedly intended to give the impression, which you apparently received, that they favor certain foreign policies, the statement in fact merely says that "the United States can no longer postpone active consideration" of these policies—a view with which hardly anyone can disagree.

In my opinion, there is less a need for the issuance of manifestos by professors as such than there is for continuing high-caliber academic studies of our problems. During the period in which you think "the voice of crusading idealism has been stilled on most of our campuses," individual professors have written a substantial number of well-publicized books, pamphlets, articles, and even letters to editors and have participated in innumerable open forums, offering penetrating social and political criticism. Such activity, it seems to me, more truly embodies that "free-wheeling inquiry and crusading militancy on the campus" whose absence you decry.

CARL A. AUERBACH
Professor of Law
University of Wisconsin

Dear Sir:

The occupational pusillanimity of professors by the plethora did not, mefears, begin with McCarthy nor has it ended with him—despite your thirty-three heroic historians. How many historians, might I ask, *declined* to sign the petition? Maybe thirty-three hundred?

Over more than a quarter century I've toiled and snarled (and also signed petitions and protests) among the eggheads of Academe. And rarely have more than a reckless few been willing to risk a raise or promotion by fighting for anything much more meaningful than better secretarial service or fancier furniture in the faculty lounge.

Who can blame the poor beggars (that noun I use is deliberate)? For they know full well that once they step across a polite institutional line, once they raise their voices too loudly over the clatter of tea-cups or watered martinis, they are marked men. ("Controversial chap, isn't he?"—"Quite on the aggressive side."—"Doesn't seem to catch our consensus.") What the foolhardy few are marked for is a sort of invisible purple heart for injury to career—an award that is often posthumously bestowed.

All this went on long before McCarthy and his academic imitators started asking their literally subversive questions. (How I wish just one professor had had nerve to answer: "I am not now nor have ever been a member of either the Communist or the Republican Party.") It goes on today. It will still go on so long as the last-word control of professors' lives and livelihoods remains in the hands of two groups made up in the main of lunkheads.

Need I name them? One is the state legislators—most of them most mistrustful of brains and frightened to death of non-conformity. The other group is the trustees, overseers, directors, whatever, of the private learning-mills—most of them bugged by any show of basic non-conformity and badly bothered by un-money-minded brains.

Not that professors are not money-minded—in their own rather small-change way. That is why they prefer to polish apples instead of sell them. That is why I salute those thirty-three historians—with a *morituri salutamus* turned the other way round. For I can't help wondering how many of them will now climb how far how fast, in terms of career and salary, compared to their unsigning fellows. You might wonder the same about me for simply wondering.

FRED RODELL
Professor of Law
Yale University

Dear Sirs:

In the field of social and political thinking, one runs into certain rather typical errors over and over again. In your recent editorial comment, "The Professors Ride Again," I found two common mistakes. The first may be called The Golden Age Illusion. The second may be called The Big Stereotype.

One of man's most persistent habits is that of indulging in the assumption that in the good old days things were different—and better. Man persists in believing that in an earlier and simpler and nobler age, life was better, or men were more brave and honest, or the crime rate was lower, or at the very least man was more inner-directed and less concerned with what the Joneses think. I have often speculated about this kind of thinking, and the best I can figure out is that this must be mainly a form of escapism. Or it may be man's way of saying, "This is a bad, corrupt world, but once things were different—and better." Apparently this seems to be a source of comfort.

The Big Stereotype is probably more pervasive and obnoxious in our world than the Golden Age Illusion. One of man's worst habits is to lump all members of a certain class together—all Negroes, or all bankers, or all trade unionists, or all Fifth Monarchy men or all members of Rotary. This is the great simplifier, and spares man the heavy burden of making intelligent distinctions among people who are in fact distinguishable.

Of course, professors are fair game, as they always have been, in "liberal" journals as well as the others. In your account, there was once a Golden Age when professors were "embattled crusaders," full of "vibrant idealism," but in more recent years they ran out of gas. Now, you are glad to note, a few are beginning to speak up again. Well, frankly, I think the Editor of *The Progressive* is indulging in both the Golden Age Illusion and in The Big Stereotype. I suspect there were as many timid and conformist professors "once upon a time" as there are today. On the other hand, I believe that when the pressure was on, in the Age of Universal Suspicion, there were as many courageous professors as there were before and as there are today.

Professors are a numerous class. I think there are about 150,000 of them in this country today. Like any other numerous class, there are all kinds of professors. Some are good, some are wicked; some are intelligent, some are stupid; some are conformists, others possess great civic courage. In his infinite wisdom, God seems to have distributed the basic human attributes pretty evenly in the human race. I suspect that you will get about the same distribution of human traits among magazine editors that you will find among professors.

The trouble with inter-group relations is that a great many people have the bad habit of comparing the best of the group with which they identify themselves with the worst of the group with whom a comparison is being made. Of course, this always makes the comparison flattering to the one who is doing the comparing. If you compare your saints, Mr. Editor, with the professors' devils, of course you and your kind look pretty good. But this is simply another bad habit, which logicians call Card Stacking.

My suggestion, then, is this: stop baiting the professors. They are a group of human beings, and like all groups of human beings, they vary. You can find what you are looking for, I suppose. But what do you have, sir, when you have it? The Golden Age Illusion and The Big Stereotype are snares and delusions. They inhibit understanding and confuse thought.

DAVID FELLMAN
Professor of Political Science
University of Wisconsin

Dear Sirs:

I want to express a deep doubt that professors have been relatively silent on controversial issues in recent years. I am not sure the premise is correct, if one is to believe the systematic studies on this subject by Lazarsfeld and others, and if one relies on limited personal impressions. Professors have written and spoken on controversial issues in the last ten years, and have actively participated in Presidential campaigns.

You state in your editorial that "in more recent years, however, the voice of crusading idealism has been stifled on most of our campuses." What factual evidence do you have for such a sweeping generalization? Yet, a change has occurred in the intellectual climate in this country, but I should put the nature of the change in less dramatic and oversimplified terms. I do not believe that the voice of crusading idealism has been "stifled" on our campuses, but the problems confronting us defy a simple solution by crusading idealism.

The most important change in American life since the end of World War II has been the *shift of interest from domestic to foreign issues*. This is due to two causes; first, while our society may not be quite as affluent as Galbraith and others claim, our social and economic environment is worlds apart from the depression era of the 1930's. The problem of poverty *has* been solved to a large extent—at least by comparison with the Thirties, when that problem was the focus of the crusading liberals.

But there is also a second reason for the shift in interest from domestic to foreign affairs. Until World War II, the American people naturally assumed that great powers like Britain and France would defend the peace of the world against potential aggressors—at least in a first line of defense. Since World War II, practically all Americans realize that the United States is now in the first line of defense, and that the survival of this country depends largely, if not wholly, on American thought and effort. The recent election campaign demonstrated this, I believe: both Kennedy and Nixon concentrated

on foreign policy issues, and in his Inaugural Address President Kennedy did not talk of domestic issues at all.

My point is corroborated by the petition of the thirty-three historians to which you refer in your editorial. All three points of the petition deal with foreign policy issues, in which the old labels of liberal and conservative have little meaning. The riding professors attack the American "insistence upon priority for a near-perfect system of inspection and control" with respect to the banning of nuclear tests. What does that have to do with crusading idealism? It is my impression that so far the Soviets have offered nothing approaching a satisfactory system of controls and inspection, and generalities like "near-perfect system of inspection" do not bring us nearer any solution. The line at which Soviet acceptance of some system of controls and inspection becomes acceptable is not one of liberalism versus conservatism, but of responsible common sense versus irresponsible generalities.

Similarly, the other two issues mentioned in the petition of the thirty-three—the diplomatic recognition of Communist China and East Germany—cannot be solved on the basis of meaningless generalities like idealism versus realism. Recognition of one government by another is not a matter of morals or even law, but of convenience and interest. Of course, I am construing here interest and convenience in a long-term sense. In both cases, I should ask myself one primary question: will the diplomatic recognition of the Communist regimes in mainland China and East Germany without any substantial quid-pro-quo improve or damage the chances of maintaining peace and freedom throughout the world? This question cannot be solved on the basis of a dogma, either that these two regimes must immediately be diplomatically recognized, or that they must never be recognized.

Professors are just as much entitled to engage in petitions and crusades as other citizens. But professors have also a special responsibility to think clearly.

WILLIAM EBENSTEIN
Professor of Politics
Princeton University

Dear Sirs:

I share the sentiment of your editorial, "The Professors Ride Again." One should add, however, that while professors may not be doing much crusading, they are doing a lot of high level "advising." The strength of this new and dangerous movement to discuss and advocate "arms control," not as a means toward the goal of disarmament, but as a substitute for it, lies in some of our universities.

You refer to McCarthyism as "decisive in banking the fires of dissent and reform." It was in McCarthy's time that I was most critical of liberals in general and many professors in particular. During the McCarthy time I visited many colleges, and everywhere certain groups of professors lamented McCarthyism and exaggerated its dangers to themselves and their own courage in meeting it. If they had been braver, McCarthyism would have been shorter lived.

It was precisely in this period that a college student at Princeton, not a professor, made public an extraordinary exhortation in the recruiting pamphlet given out to the students by Socony Mobil. It was that personal opinions should always be kept conservative. When I complained to the company, the author of the pamphlet said that they had circulated 450,000, or some such enormous figure, covering most of our colleges and universities, and that no professor had ever said a word—why was I kicking?

The facts speak for themselves in support of your criticism of a great many professors. Of course there are honorable exceptions, and, on the whole, I think the academic profession in this field is better, not worse, than when Wendell Phillips made his famous Phi Beta Kappa address at Harvard on "The Scholar and Politics" in 1881.

NORMAN THOMAS
New York City

Dears Sirs:

It is dangerous to generalize, and if "once upon a time, professors were embattled crusaders riding off to combat evil wherever it existed," I can't remember it. We are told that Wendell Phillips, speaking before the Harvard Phi Beta Kappa in 1881, deplored what he regarded as the unresponsiveness of scholars to the great reform movements of his time. One recalls World War I and that Robert M. LaFollette, Sr., whose name is still carried on the masthead of *The Progressive*, was hanged in effigy on the Wisconsin campus. This was the golden age of the Wisconsin Idea, but toleration of dissent among a faculty that included many celebrated liberal professors was almost nil.

Nevertheless, your editorial is a good one; the praise it bestows upon the promoters and signers of a very timely and sensible letter to the President is well warranted. And a blow at timidity and conformity in college circles is always in order.

In my file is an address which I delivered to the Teachers Union thirty years ago, observing: "Many are convinced that active participation in community affairs and frank expression of a point of view destroy objectivity in teaching. But insistence on neutrality and suppression of advocacy can make teaching and scholarship sterile. A sporting regard for fairness in presentation and for the opportunity of all sides to be heard is the sort of objectivity that should be cultivated."

If intellectuals in our time have been taking a decreasingly active part in democratic and human struggles (which I doubt), the reasons, as you suggest, are not hard to find: general insecurity and fear are sustained by the cold war; the military, never at home with dissent, is now greatly expanded; McCarthy and the University of California oath ordeals are still fresh in memory; and organization man more than ever stresses going along with the team.

And anyone who covets nomination to "profiles of courage" needs to be asked how well he would have measured during the Thirties in Germany against Nazi savagery or during the Sixties in Georgia against race-hatred mobbery.

It is true now and it has been true for a long time that the surest and safest way up for a professor is to stay with scholarly academic-journal articles and not to mix much with controversial current affairs. And it is good for education and the country that a substantial minority has never heeded a lot of warnings and that most of them have "gotten away with it." The living members of this fraternity will appreciate your support.

HAROLD M. GROVES
Professor of Economics
University of Wisconsin

Dear Sirs:

I agree that it is a good sign to see professors' names in print again, especially when attached to opinions on vital issues. As *The Progressive* notes, the silence of the academic profession over the past few years has been part of the McCarthy syndrome, some of which still lingers. We were sicker than we knew, as a society, and since for a substantial part of the past decade intellectuals were considered subversive and "too much education" dangerous to the state, it will be some time before the academic profession feels it fully safe to venture out again.

The memory is still fresh of a nationally-syndicated columnist pointing out to his readers that a majority of those accused in one investigation had taken graduate work (leaving the inference clear), or of another taking a teacher to task for quoting Jefferson, whose opinions might be "seriously unsettling to young minds."

After a period in which faculties have been favorite targets of innuendo and attack, it is surprising, and heartening too, to see that there are still some who not only have convictions on public issues but are willing to express them. Like those who outlasted the French Revolution, these men have accomplished a great deal simply by surviving the Fifties.

There is nothing new, of course, in all this. Anyone who takes the time to look into the late Professor Howard Beale's history of academic freedom, for example, or any of several similar studies, knows that professors traditionally have had a hard time when they talked off-campus about public issues, whether their opinions concerned the propriety of slavery, the acceptability of the evolutionary hypothesis, or the public ownership of utilities. And historically, as during the past few years, newspaper editors and politicians have always for the most part fled like scared rabbits from the issue of free speech for professors. The recent record is depressingly familiar.

However, the climate for academics has improved considerably over the past few months with the approaching installation of the new Administration. The atmosphere for professors in politics today is one of sharp contrast to that of the past ten years, and the sight of faculty members and even deans flocking into Washington is an interesting and encouraging one. Under a President who is himself a prize-winning historian, and who invited a distinguished poet to the inauguration (incredible but true), it is likely that professors will be treated once more as first-class citizens, as they were under the two Roosevelts and Wilson.

No one can be sure how long this will last, though I believe that a good many professors are saddling up, as *The Progressive* puts it, in anticipation of riding again in the Sixties. Socrates remarked to the effect that the reformer always lives in some suspense, and that "there is no saying what may happen to

such a man." Socrates knew whereof he spoke, and since education always will be a kind of moral reform, professors still can't say what will happen to them. Anyway, there are still some who are willing to see.

RUSSEL B. NYE
Department of English
Michigan State University

Dear Sirs:

It is true that professors have been much less vocal than they used to be, at least in the New Deal era. I am convinced that the after-effects of McCarthyism have something to do with it, but that there are other things that come into play. One of them is the increasing complexities of the issues, so that people are much less ready to feel that they know the answer than they were thirty years ago.

My own reaction to the second two of the three points mentioned in the petition would be a case in point. So far as China is concerned, I do believe it is extraordinary how little rational discussion there is in this country of our relationship with Red China, and I think McCarthy's intimidation had something to do with it. On the other hand I am not sure that I would care to endorse the petition in the words in which it is framed. I do not know that it is necessarily desirable to give recognition of Red China "as a step in the quest for a peaceful solution" rather than offering it as a quid pro quo and a part of a general settlement.

The same might be true of recognition of East Germany. I am not sure this would be just a quibble or a trivial reason for not signing such a petition, even though I am in sympathy with its general direction. I suspect that the atmosphere created by the new administration will help considerably and soon to lift this cloud of timidity or apathy or conformism or withdrawal or whatever you want to call it.

RICHARD HOFSTADTER
Department of History
Columbia University

Dear Sirs:

In "The Professors Ride Again" you give more praise than we thirty-three historians probably deserve. You almost say that it is the speaking out that, is wonderful, irrespective of what we have to say. Not so; we hope that President John F. Kennedy and Secretary of State Dean Rusk will hear us for our cause and will move to lessen the perils from atomic war and testing, and to abandon the fallacious diplomacy on China and East Germany. That is why our "idealism" (your word) is addressed to the "realities" (our word.) For my money that is the only kind of idealism that is worthwhile.

In the course of complimenting us, you go farther than I think is accurate in asserting that professors en masse have sunk back into a long and deadening silence. When I was a boy, professors seemed pretty neutral and restrained on the controversial issues of the day. There were exceptions, a Ron, a Beard, a Veblen, but several of my own teachers boasted that it was the ivory tower for them.

The depression, the New Deal, and World War II brought emancipation. I am not sure which did the most, but in the Roosevelt years general recognition came that the professor could be a political animal, a policy maker, or a crier for reform, and still a professor.

With Dies, Tenney, Broyles, Ober, McCarthy, and McCarran, Truman's overzealous security program, and the Eisenhower exaggeration of it, a premium was put on caution. Every prudent man, with or without a Ph.D., was tempted to avoid nonconformity like the plague. But did professors in these last dozen dark years go more silent, more craven, than the doctors, lawyers, preachers, or journalists? I believe that the record, if we can search it out, will show that they as a group put up a stouter resistance than did these other professions.

When it came to standing on principle to the point of sacrificing one's job or forfeiting one's career, the professional casualties exceeded those of these other professions combined. The number of riders unhorsed does not prove that more were riding, but it is at least a hint. Furthermore, on the secondary issue of what was done about the firings and banishments, professors at large, individually and in their organizations, swarmed out to protest and to try to protect. In contrast, what did the American Medical Association do on the purge at Cedars of Lebanon, the American Bar Association on the lawyers disbarred for their politics, the church at large on behalf of the Reverend Willard Uphaus, or the national press when Senator James Eastland was carrying out his vendetta against the New York *Times*?

The professional record, I submit, stands comparison well, and all the more so when it is remembered that by the nature of his calling the scholar must spend a fair amount of time in solitary—in his library, laboratory, or study—in other words, in the ivory tower.

JOHN W. CAUGHEY
Professor of History
University of California
at Los Angeles

Alan Paton Objects

Dear Sirs:

I am a admirer of *The Progressive* and it was with interest I read David McReynolds' article, "Hitler in New York," in your December issue. I certainly do not write in any carping spirit, but as a non-American seeking enlightenment.

Why should George Lincoln Rockwell be allowed to attack Jews and Negroes in Union Square? Have you not a Constitution which outlaws such activity? Or does your Constitution merely outlaw racial discrimination, and yet allow anyone to preach it? Or is it perhaps Mr. McReynolds' own view that whatever the Constitution outlaws, nevertheless one should be allowed to preach it?

Is he urging a freedom of speech, while consenting to a restriction of action? Does he regard the closing of Union Square to Mr. Rockwell as a greater offense against America than the calumniation of Jews and Negroes? Does he believe that freedom of speech should be subject to no kind of restriction whatsoever? Or does he think (as he appears to) that freedom of speech should be absolute in some countries and not in others?

I myself live in a multi-racial society, probably the most difficult of them all. Simultaneously I believe in freedom of speech, and have lost freedom of movement as a consequence. But I have always hoped one day to live under a Constitution which will not only outlaw racial discrimination but will outlaw any preaching of it. Am I therefore making an invalid exception to an absolute principle, merely because I am prejudiced in that particular direction?

ALAN PATON
Natal, South Africa

The Truth about Farmers

Dear Sirs:

I want to compliment you on your editorial, "Land of Subsidy," in the January issue. As one who has contended for a long time that farmers have been subsidizing the national economy, I hope that the Kennedy Administration will lead the public to an appreciation of the true state of affairs before a solution of the "farm problem" is attempted.

H. R. GLASCOCK, SR.
Eddyville, Oregon

Mayer More Than Good

Dear Sirs:

Permit me to express my deep appreciation for the excellence of your December number.

Milton Mayer's article, "As It Is In Heaven," deserves the highest praise. It is more than just good. May it help toward our awakening of "the beginning of new things," or to "the discovery of old."

MRS. ALMA H. THOMAS
Montclair, New Jersey

'The Holy Days'

Dear Sirs:

With reference to Hal Borland's "The Holy Days" in your January issue, it seems to me that much in this sugary, muddled piece deserves some objective comment. "Man has worked himself so far out on the limb of rationality" is especially objectionable, since it is pitifully obvious that, on the contrary, man so far is rational only to a dangerously small degree. The answers of science are not glib ones. We will never know everything. All of us are not "kids in a great big sand box"; some are kids, some suicidal maniacs, some of us are imbeciles, some adults.

It is convenient to blame "fishy-eyed machines" instead of our misuse of them, to inveigh against science in general instead of against its destructive use. As I see it, the fact remains that the present unnecessarily high level of world irrationality will be lowered not by irrelevant myths, be they beautiful or ugly, but by more science used responsibly.

MRS. P. CAMMER
Huntington, New York

Dear Sirs:

I thoroughly agree with Hal Borland in "The Holy Days" in so far as his message was meant to be, "Stop, ye moderns. Consider the world whole. Relax your ceaseless analysis. Contemplate the beauty of the nat-

ural world. Observe the fitness of the time for our holy days. Feel the joy of life."

But what a sad thing Borland has done to science. Was the primitive man-centered universe really more conducive to humility? Aren't primitive peoples just a little more certain than we that they know the answers? Is it less imaginative of us moderns to propose relativity theory, evolutionary theory, psychoanalytic theory, population and other theories? Science is more than "figures off the dials." Machines require programmers. Mathematics originates with a thinker. Every thinker begins with postulates. And thus, if you will, every rational theory is based upon faith.

As a result of modern astronomy, the universe seems to me to be more marvelous than a universe centered on man. What a strange idea that to a person with a theory of the sky, the sky is less beautiful.

KENNETH E. LAKE
Lawrence, Kansas

Unfinished Revolution

Dear Sirs:

The Progressive has done such an outstanding job in reporting the student sit-in movement I am sure your readers would be interested in exploring some of the more significant implications of the Southern revolt, not only for the Negro struggle but for many of our political institutions.

May I draw their attention to a new work on the sit-ins which many prominent civil rights leaders have hailed as the most perceptive depth analysis of American race relations to have appeared in many years. It is *Unfinished Revolution*, by Tom Kahn, a sixty-four page booklet with photographs and chronological charts of the sit-ins. Its author is himself a young man with an extraordinary background in student and adult civil rights efforts. *Unfinished Revolution* provides an indispensable bibliography and a brief history of Jim Crow, and features forewords by Reverend James Lawson and Norman Thomas.

Of *Unfinished Revolution* A. Philip Randolph has said: "This is, I state without qualification, required reading for all who would understand where the American Negro is going and by what road. No comparable recent work probes so deeply beneath the surface of this dramatic movement and comes up with so much challenging, provocative and new thinking."

Unfinished Revolution sells for fifty cents and may be ordered from Roodenko Printers, 36 East 10th Street, New York 3, New York.

BAYARD RUSTIN, Editor
Liberation
New York City

Defends Agee

Dear Sirs:

Undoubtedly in choosing a person with the background of Priscilla Robertson to write the review of James Agee's *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*, in the January issue, you felt that this was a person who could objectively view the book. However, it seems that any man in a gray flannel suit could have given it a more objective review. Miss Robertson was not able to see the book as an entity in itself, but could only compare it to her own similar experiences.

She gives but one sentence to Agee's style of writing. She fails to tell the reader of his poetic prose which flows with strength throughout the book, or of his intelligent perceptiveness, or of his deep sensitivity to life. Instead she pokes fun at the author and takes incidents and phrases out of context, completely mutilating and misinterpreting them.

She tells us that in his own words he is a Communist "by conviction and sympathy" but she fails to tell us that he is also a Christian and above all else a human being.

I plead with you to give the book another review, if not by someone who is better qualified to see the greatness of this piece of literature, at least by someone who can be objective, and is not crippled by his own inadequate experiences.

SHERRILL PERRY
San Francisco, California

Urges Anti-Cuba Probe

Dear Sirs:

The freedom of Cuban anti-Castro exiles to indulge in such counter-revolutionary activities as guerrilla training and gun running, in clear violation of their right to asylum in this country, as well as the ever increasing stories about the CIA training guerrilla fighters in Guatemala, clearly constitute behavior contrary to the hemispheric doctrine of non-intervention into the internal affairs of another country.

It is of the utmost urgency to write Congressmen and Senators asking for an immediate investigation into this matter.

SUSAN MANNHEIM
New York City

Disarm Guantanamo

Dear Sirs:

We suggest that the United States demilitarize our base at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba and establish our treaty area as a center for the technical training of the people of Latin America and as a research center for Latin American affairs and cultures. The United States would provide monies for the staffing and maintenance of the center for a period of, say, ten years. At the end of that time, countries of Latin America which could afford to do so would contribute to the continued maintenance of the center. The center should be free from the domination of the United States and should be geared to the needs and desires of the countries making use of the center. To be successful an atmosphere of political and academic freedom must be maintained at all times.

We make this proposal for several reasons:

¶ Our base at Guantanamo Bay has become the center of controversy between the governments of the United States and Cuba.

¶ As long as we maintain a military base in Cuba it will continue to be an aggravating issue to the people of Cuba, irrespective of who heads the government.

¶ The base, as a military establishment, is expendable in that it is no longer necessary for the defense of the United States or the Panama Canal. The extensive use of aircraft and aircraft carriers and the closeness of bases in Florida and Puerto Rico make the Cuban base expensive and unnecessary.

¶ The establishment of a Latin American University would make a great contribution to the exchange of information, knowledge, and ideas among nations in the Western Hemisphere. The opportunity for the study, exchange, and retention of various American cultures would certainly contribute to basic understanding.

¶ The advantages to the United States in the re-establishment of "good neighbor" relations are obvious, and, as our experiences over the past few years indicate, necessary.

¶ The cost to the United States would be small when considered against the value to Latin American countries, the tremendous cost of maintaining the base as a military establishment, and its contribution to peace in the Western Hemisphere.

¶ We have nothing to lose but a great deal to gain.

The United States may not be able to implement this proposal because of the anti-American propaganda that is, and will continue to be, leveled against the United States government. It may be best for the United States to provide the capital for the program as stated but allow it to be administered through the United Nations. The United States with its size, wealth, and power can well afford to be humble with nations which have such common interests as those in the Western Hemisphere.

BARBARA ELFBRANDT
CLYDE R. APPLETON
VERNON ELFBRANDT
Tucson, Arizona

F.D.R. and J.F.K.

Dear Sirs:

Writing in the January *Progressive*, Karl E. Meyer laments the fact that "in 1960, the American people had to choose between two candidates who, except for accidents of birth and local circumstance, might have wound up in the other's party, or in one of the sprawling organizations that now sets the tone of American life."

I remind Mr. Meyer that the situation was little different in 1932. It was surely but an accident of birth that made Franklin D. Roosevelt a Democrat; nor is there much doubt that had the Republicans, rather than the Democrats, offered F.D.R. his first chance at political office, he would have accepted—and become a Republican. Nor is there reason to doubt that Roosevelt might have wound up at the top of a sprawling organization as easily as he did at the top of the political heap. Nor is there any doubt that F.D.R. had urged Hoover to run for the Presidency in 1920—as a Democrat.

One must not carry the parallel between F.D.R. and J.F.K. *too* far; but let us at least give Mr. Kennedy his chance. Perhaps he will fulfill the promise that even Meyer admits he showed during the campaign.

DANIEL MARKEWICH
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Wallace in 1948

HENRY A. WALLACE: QUIXOTIC CRUSADE 1948, by Karl M. Schmidt. Syracuse University Press. 361 pp. $5.50.

Reviewed by

Russel B. Nye

THE STORY of a third party always makes fascinating reading for the politically-minded, and that of Henry Wallace's Progressive Party of 1948—born in discontent, nurtured in dissension, and dissolved in disillusion—is no exception. The author, a professor of political science at Syracuse University, labels it a "quixotic crusade," referring to the goals (if not always the methods) of some of its leaders. He has examined about all the evidence one could, including long interviews with Henry Wallace, Glen Taylor (the Vice Presidential candidate), and other key figures in the movement. The result is a neat, incisive study, written with objectivity, skill, and insight.

Third parties in the United States, as Professor William B. Hesseltine explained more than a decade ago in a shrewd little book about them, face two sets of discouraging obstacles, philosophical and practical. They must have a broad philosophical base from which to launch an appeal to the widest possible electorate, and they must be well-managed and well-financed. The Wallace Progressives of 1948 had neither. The party had its origins in fairly widespread dissatisfaction—with American relations with Russia, the peace problem, the Truman Administration's apparent drift away from Rooseveltian tradition, and domestic policies related to labor and employment. But it could never pull together all those who disagreed.

Henry Wallace's New York speech of September, 1946, in which he split with Administration foreign policy, served as a rallying point for a good many of the dissatisfied. The Progressive Citizens of America, founded in December of 1946 to "make the Democratic Party out and out progressive," soon organized the Progressive Party to compete in the 1948 elections. Americans for Democratic Action, however, formed a few months later, attracted most of the important union elements away from the PCA and robbed it of much of its rank and file support. Nevertheless, the "peace and abundance" platform of the Progressives did have appeal and attracted more attention than some of its leaders had expected.

John Dewey was one of several old liberal leaders who called the turn on the new party in mid-1948. It offered "no hope for progressives," he wrote in *The New Leader*, since it met none of the three tests necessary for success: "a genuinely new position in the extension and enrichment of democracy . . . ; responsible, competent, thoroughly democratic leadership . . . ; and roots in the trade union movement." Author Karl Schmidt's account of subsequent events shows how accurate Dewey's predictions were. The Progressives began their campaign without the support of any significant group from labor, agriculture, or business. They had no existing organization and little time to build one; there was more work to do than manpower to do it. In addition, times were good in 1948 (though inflation was beginning to be a bit of a problem), and, most important of all, the first faint beginnings of the great Communist scare to come made it a bad time for dissenters.

The most difficult problem facing the Wallace Progressives, and one to which the author devotes an entire chapter, was the nature and extent of Communist participation. The Communists probably claimed more influence in the party than they had; at the same time, there were known Communists in the party councils, and they *did* have influence. Probably the Wallace party's most damaging decision was its refusal to disavow Communist support or participation, which left it wide open to attack. Schmidt concludes, after examining the evidence, that it does not seem likely that "Communists exercised any preponderant influence on Henry Wallace's activities," or upon basic matters of Progressive Party policy. The greatest extent of Communist activity seems to have been in the sphere of organization.

In 1948 *The Progressive* itself put its finger on the fatal flaw in the Wallace organization. "No truly progressive movement," remarked Editor Morris Rubin, "can be built as a popular front, harboring believers in freedom and devotees of dictatorship under the same tent." One of the book's photographs vividly illustrates this point, showing Paul Robeson, the New Deal's Rexford Tugwell, and Elmer Benson of Minnesota's Farmer-Labor Party, all smiling in Henry Wallace's direction. How the political ideas which motivated these three men could ever be combined in one party organization or platform is beyond conjecture—and, of course, they could not. After the party's crushing failure in the elections, and after increasing trouble with the remaining left-wingers in the party councils, Wallace lost confidence in the movement. When the National Committee dragged its feet on the Korean decision of 1950, he formally resigned. After that the end came swiftly.

Schmidt's analysis of Henry Wallace's character and personal philosophy is especially acute, clearing away much of the confusion which surrounds his motives, and refuting

many of the misconceptions spread by a hostile press. As a record of a third party's rise and fall, the book is a precise and carefully-researched record. It is also the story of a "quixotic crusade" waged by some sincere idealists for high goals, and of quite another kind, steered by manipulators and cynics.

Fighting Liberal

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD. LIBERAL OF THE 1920's, by D. Joy Humes. Syracuse University Press. $4.50.

Reviewed by

Norman Thomas

IN OUR noisy and tumultuous world, men who have played a significant role in it are soon forgotten and we are poorer because we have neglected our heritage. Oswald Garrison Villard, the celebrated crusading liberal editor, well deserved a biography. He still does.

It is perhaps unfair to criticize D. Joy Humes for not doing what in her preface she says she did not intend to do. She is not, she says, writing a biography or a complete study of the entire period of Villard's activities. She is examining his life as "a study of some of the principal strands of American liberalism in a period of cynicism, disillusionment, and reaction."

In fairness to her hero, and to her own avowed intention, I think she should have done a more adequate biographical job. Her method is strictly topical. Thus, we have "The American Liberal Tradition," "A Liberal's Concern for Individual Freedom," "*Noblesse Oblige*, a Liberal Interpretation," and so on. Her division is a bit arbitrary and plays havoc with chronology. The reader who might be interested in following Villard's life grows dizzy by the back and forth method of recording events in it. One gets no real picture of the man by this process or of the nature of his human contacts. There is no mention of his wife and family or of the notable company of associates he gathered around him in his long editorial career.

Miss Hume tries to set the stage for her account of Villard's life by discussing briefly his family background and "the American liberal tradition." She returns to this business of relating the man to his time in the last chapter entitled, "Last of the Liberals?" Her analysis of American liberalism is in general correct but lacking in depth. She presents her subject sympathetically, and she has made, I gather, a careful use of her sources. Her quotations are well chosen and give some insight into the man and his ideas. Her report of the nature and variety of Villard's activities and interests is informative. But Miss Humes does little to help us understand the man. She offers no serious study of the relation of his pacifism to his thinking on political matters. This was for him of an importance which forced him to agonizing appraisals and reappraisals. She does not discuss the sadness of his later years during World War II when his health greatly reduced his activities and his pacifism cut him off from some old friends.

Nevertheless, the book is easy to read and contains useful information. I should, however, refer anyone deeply interested to read Villard's autobiography, published in 1939, entitled *Fighting Years*.

Dilemma in Germany

GERMANY DIVIDED: THE LEGACY OF THE NAZI ERA, by Terence Prittie. Little, Brown. 381 pp. $6.

Reviewed by

George L. Mosse

HAS THE old German "restlessness" been dissipated by a short decade of good living? It is to this important question that Terence Prittie addresses himself in this book; he answers his own question in the negative. His analysis is illustrated by a pithy and summary review of the news stories emerging from postwar Germany, a method which makes for smooth and interesting reading. Much space is devoted to the failure with which Germany digested the lessons of the past (in 1953 an American survey found that forty-four per cent of the population saw more good than bad in National Socialism), and to the rightist groups which have had a continuing appeal in Germany.

Prittie's book attempts to destroy the myth that all is well in West Germany, while it unhesitatingly accepts the very worst that can be said about the Communist East. Coexistence is discounted; Khrushchev's espousal is only a "facade" masking a desire for world conquest. This requires Prittie to accept the rearmament of West Germany as a necessary response to an East German rearmament.

The portrait of Chanceller Adenauer best exemplifies the dilemma of this book. All his features are clearly delineated, particularly his rigidity and authoritarianism. These failings are overshadowed by the fact that he finally found respectable allies for Germany, which previous statesmen had failed to achieve. Respectable allies, for Prittie, mean allies in the West rather than in the East. Adenauer has been a good German, working towards a civilized and free world. Yet, further on, we are told that the Chancellor's rigidity destroyed hopes for German unification (and a solution to the German question) when unification could have been had on mutually acceptable terms in 1954. Was this a service to the West or to Germany? Moreover, Adenauer's rigidity was based on a view of the Communist East which Prittie also shares. In this book Germans are accused of ignoring realities in their demand for lost eastern territories, but it is the Adenauer government, committed to a free and civilized world, which has supported these demands for the sake of domestic political expediency.

The chapter on Adenauer is placed next to the chapter on neo-Nazism. Perhaps this is coincidence, or it may be a desire to underline the fact that the Chancellor took four former Nazis into his cabinet. On the one hand, Adenauer fights for freedom and civilization, on the other he seems unable to cope with neo-Nazism at home. This dilemma is quite explicit in the book, and it is a measure of its honest approach. Prittie is led by his argument to accuse the German neutralists of playing the old opportunist game of attempting to ally Germany with the East. Yet the Macmillan plan of thinning out military strength in central Europe, which he favors, points in a quite similar direction. Prittie's hatred of the East, indeed of socialism, enables him only to illuminate the German dilemma; he cannot advance a solu-

tion. He ends with a vague hope that a new idealism will develop out of German freedom.

If Prittie had given the Social Democrats some of their due, if he had not underplayed the figure of former President Theodore Heuss, he might have been able to accomplish more. The Social Democrats lack Adenauer's authoritarianism and that emphasis on electoral politics which makes him seek the support of the right—while the former President, with his honesty and simple Swabian manners, became a truly constructive force in the developing German democracy. Moreover, Prittie seems to fear a concentration of economic power in the hands of the Ruhr industrialists. This could, once again, lead to the economic domination of Europe. One might remember what the industrialist, Hugo Stinnes, told the head of a patriotic organizatiton before World War I: "Give me three or four years of peace and I will quietly secure German dominance in Europe." Since Prittie rejects any kind of socialism, he has no solution either for this continuing problem, except a hope that the Krupps have reformed.

There is much that is good about Prittie's book: the very dilemma it portrays indicates the complexities of a German problem made even more difficult by a conviction in the West that Communism aims at the conquest of all Europe by fair means or foul. His emphasis on the rightist groups in Germany is important reading. Lunatic fringe groups, small and cohesive at first, did become the norm of German political life during the great depression. History may not repeat itself, but in the midst of post-war German prosperity we cannot be sure. For Prittie, Germany, with its restlessness and undigested past, remains an insoluble dilemma in the heart of Europe, and we, he believes, had better hope that her prosperity is maintained at all costs, even that of economic domination.

This would seem the only conclusion to be drawn from this book, unless, of course, Prittie's inflexible view of the Communist East could be modified. Unless there is room for negotiation with the Soviet Union or East Germany (and Prittie thinks there is not), Germany divided will continue to be filled with a potential "restlessness" which one day might pose a threat of its own for the West.

Society without Aim

GROWING UP ABSURD, by Paul Goodman. Random House. 296 pp. $4.50.

Reviewed by

Richard Schickel

THE FIRST thing that strikes the reader of Paul Goodman's *Growing Up Absurd* is its remarkable style. It is rare for the writer of social commentary to eschew the middlebrow journalese which is the conventional diction of this increasingly popular quasi-art form and to speak, like an artist, in a voice that is uniquely his own. I don't know how to describe, precisely, the quality of Goodman's writing, but it accurately reflects the man, novelist, poet, psychologist and, above all, independent urban intellectual and all-around man of letters he has been for many years. Thus, in this book quotations from the classic philosophers and the literature of psychology rub shoulders with the argot of the street and of the literary man. It is all somehow engaging, like a late evening conversation with a man who, although not a specialist, suddenly decides to bring all the knowledge of his maturity to bear on a problem you never thought he cared about and does it with passionate concern, positing idealistic, perhaps utopian answers and ultimately using the problem as a metaphor for an examination of the condition of man in our time.

The style, then, is *prima facie* evidence that we are in the presence of a man who is blessedly not a reporter who must clothe his thought—or rather, lack of it—in the style approved by our journalistic organization in order to lend it authority. Further, it is evidence that the writer is going to do something more than the Vance Packards of the world attempt.

Goodman is here ostensibly addressing himself to the plight of our youth. Why, he asks, are the kids so feckless, so lacking in goals and ambitions, so withdrawn from the concerns that animate adult society? Why are they causeless rebels? And why does the conventional wisdom fail so dismally in attempting to deal with their malaise? He suggests, as an historical approach, that our age is the product of failed, or half-finished, revolutions —social, sexual, political, economic, religious. These aborted revolutions, begun in a simpler day when a small ruling class could impose liberal, humane, individualistic values on a closed society which, for all its dislocations, had a genuine sense of community, have left us a language which sounds noble when we discuss the problems of living, but which is irrelevant to the reality of our existence and is worse than useless when we attempt to couch plans for action in it. For the socio-economic-political system which orders our lives is interested only in production and profit, and ritualistically invokes the old language only on state occasions when it is trying to reassure everyone that everything is still O.K. The great mass of men don't, in their hearts, believe this stuff. The evidence of their eyes tells them it is untrue. Human cogs, members of the lonely crowd, lacking a feeling of their own worth and therefore of genuine community spirit based on mutual respect, shut off from the realization of manly goals (and even manly work) through which they could express their true selves, they find themselves isolated and rebellious against the system they know—however dimly—is the cause of their trouble.

In a startling metaphor, Goodman suggests that our society is a closed room from which we cannot escape and in which we seem to be doomed either to participate, griping, in the rat race or condemned to watch it proceed in a state of horrified withdrawal.

Goodman's book is profoundly pessimistic. But he suggests there is a glimmer of hope. It lies precisely where the behavioral problem that so exercises the system's spokesmen lies. "All the recent doings of problematic youth . . . have had the stamp of at least partially springing from some existent situation, whatever it is, and of responding with direct action, rather than keeping up appearances and engaging in phony role playing,"

he says. Juvenile gangs, beat and angry cabals all suggest an attempt to organize new, small communities existing outside the larger one, communities in which men can again live fully as human beings. By opting out of the system they have sought, and found, a new, healthier reality. Our problem is not to encourage the reintegration of these communities into our present society but to encourage more like them, communities cut to the scale of man, not of machines and organizations.

When we have done that, it is possible that we will discover, just for example, that "enjoyment is *not* a goal, it is a feeling that accompanies ongoing activity; pleasure . . . is always dependent on function." Since man can function well only if he feels that he, the individual, is important and what he does is not absurd routine but vitally important to the community, this is an answer not just to the problems of juvenile delinquency but to the entire existential problem of our production line society.

Dour Sholokhov

HARYEST ON THE DON, by Mikhail Sholokhov. Knopf. 367 pp. $5.

Reviewed by
George Gibian

TWO YEARS ago a French journalist questioned Mikhail Sholokhov about his reputation as a very slow writer. He answered, "You need speed to catch lice, but not to write books. It is true they criticized me at the Union of Writers for publishing too seldom, but I don't care. I write slowly."

The lag between the first (1932) and the second (1959) volumes of the book known in Russian as *Virgin Soil Upturned* may set some kind of record of slowness in completing a novel. *Seeds of Tomorrow*, as its first part is called in English, was written by Sholokhov as a digression during his composition of the sprawling epic, *The Quiet Don*. It describes the experiences of Davidov, a Communist ex-sailor and ex-worker from Leningrad, who has come to the Cossack countryside in order to help in the struggle for collectivization of agriculture. The village where he settles harbors underground counter-revolutionaries, against whom Davidov and his allies struggle. The novel describes the noble efforts of some Communists, the excesses of others, the recalcitrance of peasants, and the amatory involvements of Davidov. Its structure is not terminal, but cyclical. It ends almost as it began, with a revival of the anti-Bolshevik conspiracy.

One thing which is certain about the second volume, *Harvest on the Don*, is that it completes the action with a vengeance. It brings all the main lines of development of the first volume to an end with such finality that nothing demands to be continued.

Before the book was published in Russia last year, there were reports that Soviet authorities disapproved of the ending, in which, it was said, Davidov would be arrested and would commit suicide in prison. There was even the rumor that Khrushchev himself applied pressure to persuade Sholokhov to keep Davidov alive and end the novel more optimistically. It is difficult to imagine how any set of officials could succeed in making the dour Cossack celebrity write or do anything against his wishes. But the whole basis for the conjectures may have been spurious. True, Davidov dies. Yet the ending is quite the opposite of a defeatist, anti-Soviet one.

Unlike some other recent Soviet books, *Harvest on the Don* ends with a complete victory of the Communist cause. Davidov is not arrested. The conspiracy is crushed, its leaders are apprehended and confess ignominiously. Davidov has shaken off Lushka Nagulnova, the seductive slut, and has become engaged to a virginal girl. He dies a triumphant hero, a Soviet martyr. In the village of Gremyachy Log, Soviet power and collective farming are firmly enthroned. What more could even a Union of Writers bureaucrat demand?

This is a robust book, but an uneven one. It is a novel with several subplots, lacking a main plot. The story of the conspiracy is told intermittently. For chapters on end, it is submerged under scenes describing agricultural problem-solving and Party meetings considering new applications for membership. The novel proceeds not with a march, nor even

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with a circular course: it just sputters along.

Despite all this, Sholokhov's rich, fully engaged genius fortunately does come to the surface. He still has an ear alert to the strong speech of Cossack peasants, a heart attuned to their primitive, earthy passions, and a mind obsessed by the horrible, fascinating enormities of all the beating, killing, conspiring, and seducing which his blood-soaked homeland has witnessed during a century which in its dawn considered itself an age of civilization.

The best parts of the book, which are as good as anything in *The Quiet Don*, are those reminiscences and interpolated tales in which Sholokhov deals with events of the past (particularly the Civil War), tales of violence and torment, human suffering and exaltation. Occasional diversion is provided by comic passages.

The siren, Lushka Nagulnova, in the end marries a mining engineer and climbs into the new Soviet technocratic bourgeoisie. She has lost her fire, her body, her lust: she has turned them in for respectability and self-satisfied fatness. It is evident that Sholokhov shares the feelings of his character Razmiotnov, who says: "I felt a touch of regret for the old Lushka, young, smart with her tongue, and beautiful. Now you might almost say I'd seen her in a dream a long, long time ago, once upon a time, so to speak, but never lived with her in the same village. Well, that's our life, boys, that's the way things go."

Sholokhov, too, seems to yearn for the bad, wild days, which were also the heroic days. For all the horror, the bloodshed, for all the resistance to Communism and collectivization offered, as Sholokhov sees it, by human greed and blindness, the old days were the time when human experience was vivid. The mining engineer on the city's paved streets in modern, industrialized Russia may gain Sholokhov's formal assent (he ends his book with a look forward to the horizons of the future), but not his emotional allegiance. That he has given, irrevocably, to the pre-industrial days, of which we catch a glimpse, here and there, through the flashbacks and reminiscences of the *Harvest on the Don*.

Our Timid Press

THE FADING AMERICAN NEWSPAPER, by Carl E. Lindstrom. Doubleday. 283 pp. $3.95.

Reviewed by

Jacob H. Jaffe

WITH THE fierceness of H. L. Mencken and the contemporary pace of Vance Packard, Carl E. Lindstrom, until recently executive editor of the Gannett chain's Hartford (Connecticut) *Times* and now a professor of journalism, rushes head-on into the newspapers of America. We have seldom been so starved for a hard-hitting critic of journalism to expose the muck of mediocrity, timidity, and indifference that has virtually buried our press. Lindstrom, with about forty years of reporting-editing experience behind him, is apparently available for the role; his bold attack reaches into every corner of newspaper enterprise.

The primary charge made in this book is that, in failing to furnish readers with sufficient kinds and volume of news, the dailies have persuaded many to move on to radio-television and the news magazines. Despising chain newspaper systems and witnessing the distressing effects of monopoly (one-newspaper town) journalism, Lindstrom delivers a series of smashing blows. He denounces editors for desperately striving to please everyone in a community (and, therefore, gratifying no one), strikes at press associations for contributing an Orwellian sameness to dailies from coast to coast, and damns what he sees as the continuing effort by newspapers to report the news swiftly, despite the substantial time advantage held by broadcasters.

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His positive recommendations are comparatively few. Presumably, he seeks the reverse of what he attacks—that is, editorial daring and a far greater total of news data (which he appears to prefer to prosaic, and potentially misleading, "interpretation"). Paradoxically, while he calls repeatedly for facts to be added to facts as a major means of curbing the steady migration of readers to competing media, the structure of his own arguments contradicts this appeal. He is remarkably precise in recalling his own personal experiences, but his general ideas follow each other without the intellectually nourishing endorsement of examples that are both timely and specific.

Paperback Plums On the Civil War

by William McCann

THE NUMBER of authors who will ultimately write a book about the Civil War is increasing so rapidly, says humorist Frank Sullivan, that "it is becoming an important factor in our exploding population problem." He estimates that "upward of a thousand future authors of Civil War books are born each year and go into training immediately to prepare to grasp the torch from Bruce Catton's hands when Bruce—Heaven forbid—retires." In this first year of Centennial festivities many Civil War books are already available in paper covers. Here are some good titles:

Mr. Lincoln's Army, by Bruce Catton (Doubleday Dolphin. $1.45)

Lincoln's Plan of Reconstruction, by William B. Hesseltine (Confederate Publishing Company, Tuscaloosa, Ala. $4.95)

The Civil War Digest, by Ralph Newman and E. B. Long. Introduction by Allen Nevins. Maps by Barbara Long (Universal. $1.95)

The Causes of the Civil War, edited by Kenneth M. Stampp (Prentice-Hall. $1.75)

Sherman, Soldier, Realist, American, by B. H. Liddell Hart (Praeger. $1.95)

General Lee, by Fitzhugh Lee (Premier. 75 cents)

Robert E. Lee, by Earl Schenck Miers (Vintage. 95 cents)

Sickles the Incredible, by W. A. Swanberg (Ace. 50 cents)

This Hallowed Ground, The Story of the Union Side of the Civil War, by Bruce Catton (Pocket Books, Inc. 50 cents)

Experiment in Rebellion, by Clifford Dowdey (Doubleday Dolphin. 95 cents)

Military History of the Civil War, with Special Reference to the Campaigns of 1864 and 1865, by W. B. Wood and Sir James Edmonds (Capricorn. $1.35)

Diary of a Civil War Hero, by Michael Dougherty (Pyramid. 50 cents)

The Fremantle Diary, Being the Journal of Lt. Col. Arthur James Lyon Fremantle, on his Three Months in the Southern States, edited with a Commentary by Walter Lord (Capricorn. $1.35)

To Appomattox: Nine April Days, 1865, by Burke Davis (Popular Library. 75 cents)

Meet Mr. Lincoln, by Richard Hanser and Donald B. Hyatt (Ridge Press Book. $1.50)

Lincoln Reconsidered, Essays on the Civil War Era, by David Donald (Vintage. $1.25)

Thunder at Harper's Ferry, Allen Keller (Ace. 35 cents)

Prologue to Sumter, by Philip Van Doren Stern (Premier. 75 cents)

Anti-Slavery Origins of the Civil War in the United States, by Dwight Lowell Dumond. Foreword by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. (Ann Arbor. $1.65)

1861-1865: The Adventure of the Civil War Told With Pictures, by Irving Werstein (Pageant Books. $1.95)

Southern History of the Civil War, by Edward A. Pollard (Jack Brussel: The Blue and the Gray Press. Four volumes. $2.25 each volume)

The Nation Divided, edited by Paul M. Angle (Premier. 50 cents)

Eyewitness, The Civil War As We Lived It, by Otto Eisenschiml and Ralph Newman. Introduction by Bruce Catton (Universal. $1.95)

I Rode With Stonewall, by Henry Kyd Douglas (Premier. 75 cents)

The Slave States (Before the Civil War), by Frederick Law Olmsted. Edited by Harvey Wish (Capricorn. $1.25)

July, 1863, by Irving Werstein (Ace. 35 cents)

The Confederacy, A Social and Political History in Documents, edited by Albert D. Kirwan (Meridian. $1.45)

A Rebel War Clerk's Diary, by John B. Jones. Edited by Earl Schenck Miers (Perpetua Books, $2.45)

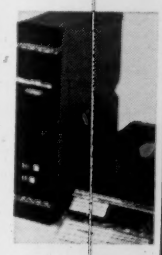
A Short History of the Civil War, by Fletcher Pratt (Pocket Books, Inc. 35 cents)

America Goes to War, by Bruce Catton (American Century Series. $1.25)

Conscientious Objectors in the Civil War, by Edward Needles Wright (Perpetua Books. $1.95)

THE REVIEWERS

RUSSEL B. NYE, professor of English at Michigan State University, wrote "Midwestern Progressive Politics." NORMAN THOMAS, the Socialist leader, knew Oswald Garrison Villard for many years. GEORGE L. MOSSE is a professor of European history at the University of Wisconsin. RICHARD SCHICKEL wrote the new book, "The World of Carnegie Hall." GEORGE GIBIAN holds a joint appointment at Smith College as an associate professor in the departments of Russian and English. He wrote "Intervals of Freedom: Soviet Literature During the Thaw, 1954-1957." JACOB H. JAFFE teaches journalism at Long Island University. WILLIAM McCANN reviews paperbacks regularly for The Progressive.



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